Folsom Sidesteps Plea for Franchise As Tension Grows

(Special to The Courier)

TUSKEGEE, Ala.—Desperately struggling to secure the ballot and freedom to participate in political affairs of their town and Macon County, Tuskegee citizens have been treated to a typical "Dixie dose" of intimidation, with KKK cross-burnings and parades across the Tuskegee Institute campus, a "sit-down" in the county registrar's office and a boycott of local merchants.

Into the "cold war" has just been injected a new offensive propaganda campaign of "open letters" in the press. Tension in the community has increased since the Klan parade and the beginning of the boycott.

The Klan parade, which occurred the night before the Nov. 2 elections, was regarded by Negroes to be an act of intimidation in response to the determined fight made to get the ballot in Macon County where Tuskegee is located.

The Klan burned two crosses and a swiftly moving motorcade passed through the community and Tuskegee Institute campus.

BOYCOTT IS RESPONSE

Immediate response came to this timorous hooded threat in a "Trade with Your Friends" campaign which has flooded the community with circulars stating the cases against the merchants of Tuskegee town who are considered as having condoned the Klan appearance. The anonymous circulars and a whispering campaign have been effective in producing a boycott despite the fact that an active boycott is illegal in Alabama.

Throughout the fall Negroes sustained a sit-down in the office of the Board of Registrars to the end that that body was prevented from functioning since it was determined not to register Negroes so that they could vote. The Board of Registrars is, by law, required to sit on the first and third Mondays of each month to receive applications of prospective voters. When the Negroes appeared on these days the registrars did not appear.

GOVERNOR SIDESTEPS

On Oct. 14, Charles G. Gomillion and Daniel Beasley called on Gov. James E. Folsom, who is one of the board of three which appoints the County Board of Registrars, but were shunted to his legal adviser, Ira B. Thompson. They filed complaint against the Macon County Board of Registrars and asked that the board be made to function. This action brought no results prior to the November elections and on Dec. 11 a petition signed by seventy-two members of the Tuskegee community was addressed to the Governor and members of his board asking that action be taken to provide for their registration.

MAYOR MUM

The Tuskegee News, weekly paper published in the town of Tuskegee, condemned Klan appearance, but Mayor Frank H. Carr refused to comment on the parade immediately following the incident. The reaction of Negroes has been that city officials and businessmen of the city condoned the Klan appearance, even if they were not participants in the actual cross-burning.

Merchants in the town, after a month, are said to be seriously concerned about loss of the profitable trade of the Tuskegee Institute and Veterans Hospital people.

LOST FEDERAL SUIT

Active fight for the vote began when William P. Mitchell brought suit for $5,000 against registrars who refused to register him in 1945. After the case had gone to the U. S. District Court and the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals it was returned and thrown out of the U. S. District Court when the registrars remembered that they had registered Mitchell but had never notified him even though notification is part of the process of registration.

After the Mitchell suit members of the Board of Registrars resigned and there was no Board of Registrars for eighteen months when a new board was appointed in January 1948. It was the latter board which would not function during the Negroes' "sit-down" in its office.

Alabama Prospectus

Morgan Brassell is the editor and publisher of The Etowah News-Journal. Surveying Alabama politics from the Tennessee end, Editor Brassell takes the following views:

Brassell wrote a piece on the governor's race. He omitted the name of Birmingham's City Commissioner "Bull" Conner. This week he repaired the omission, acknowledging that because he was in a hurry he had left out the name of that candidate who would be "hard to beat."

Brassell can't reconcile himself to Truman even if the people have spoke:

"I had an old friend from Memphis not long ago to tell me that I wrote like a Klan editor. Of course, he was kidding. I said, if we keep on with Harry Truman I am liable to hunt up the Klan and join. . . . We are not going to turn over Dixie to a bunch of aliens and Negroes."

John Sparkman was a congressman for 10 years without opposition. He was elected to the United States Senate without a run-off. Up for reelection this year, Sparkman won one of the most smashing victories ever racked up by a senator. But Brassell is unimpressed and contends that Sparkman is "licked and don't know it."

On the basis of all this, we would guess that Editor Brassell has plotted the following course: Join the Klan if Truman remains in office, and await the scheduled election of Conner and the rejection of Sparkman.

An Open Letter

Montgomery Advertiser

to The Governor, the State Auditor, and the Commissioner of Agriculture and Industries

Montgomery Alabama

Honorable Sirs:

Macon County does not have a publicly functioning Board of Registrars. There has not been a publicly functioning Board since April 19, when nine citizens are known to have been registered. During approximately 18 months immediately preceding January, 1948, there was no publicly functioning Board. As a result, many citizens desirous of becoming qualified electors have not been able to register. Many times these citizens have appeared at the Courthouse on the first and third Mondays of each month and at other traditional periods of registration, seeking an opportunity to register, but they could not locate a functioning Board. Fri. 12-17-48

Our political democracy is based on the principle that all law-abiding citizens who meet the qualifications of electors have the right, and should have the opportunity, to participate in self-government. Voting in a democratic society is a civic duty as well as a civic right, and responsible citizens do not enjoy being denied rights and opportunities to which they are entitled.

On behalf of **bona fide** citizens who are non-voters, who possess the qualifications necessary to become registered electors, and who desire to register, we appeal to you to appoint a Board of Registrars which will serve the citizens of our County. It is our belief that in this County there can be found three persons who believe in democracy and in Christianity, and who can and will serve as Registrars. If **you** do not find them, will you let us help you locate them?

In spite of the fact that traditionally the Boards of Registrars in Macon County have permitted only a few applicants to qualify as electors, it is difficult to believe that the majority of our citizens favor this procedure. It is even more difficult to believe that any substantial number of our citizens desire our County to remain the only County in the State without a functioning Board of Registrars. Fri. 12-17-48

We have already appealed to our fellow-citizens to serve on the Board if they are appointed, and we hope that the principles of democracy and the spirit and teachings of the Christ will so permeate and motivate their minds and hearts that some might even volunteer to serve. May we count on you to help relieve us of the embarrassment we are now experiencing and the political disfranchisement we are now suffering? Will you appoint a Board of Registrars which can and **will** performs its duties?

Respectfully yours,
TUSKEGEE CIVIC ASSOCIATION

Senate Can Break Up Filibuster If It Tries

Afro American

By RALPH MATTHEWS

Senator Glen Taylor has inadvertently performed a distinct service for the American People and the Nation.

Senator Taylor has proved once and for all that a filibuster can be smashed at any point where the Senate wants to end it, without cloture or any other involved technique.

It is time that Senator Taylor was the victim of this automatic silencer put on his own attempt to outtalk the draft. Here is how the Senate broke up Mr. Taylor's 24 hour talk fest and here, for the first time, the nation discovered how any filibuster can be ended, when and if the Senate wants to end it.

This is from the official record:

Mr. Taylor (reading from a telegram): Citizens of this Nation can congratulate themselves on having one honest Senator who respects his duty to represent the desires and interests of the people instead of the special interests of enemies of peace stop God give you——

Mr. Brewster: Mr. President, I ask that the Senator take his seat because of language unworthy of the conduct of a Senator.

The President officer, Senator Ives, Republican, of New York): The Senator from Idaho will take his seat under the rule. The chair will read the rule. Rule 19, paragraph 4, reads as follows:

"If any Senator, in speaking or otherwise, trangresses the rules of the Senate, the President officer shall, or any Senator may, call him to order, and when a Senator shall be called to order he shall sit down and not proceed without leave of the Senate, which, if granted shall be upon motion that he be allowed to proceed in order, which motion shall be determined without debate."

Paragraph three, immediately follows, reads as follows:

"No Senator in debate shall refer offensively to any State of the Union.

Paragraph two reads as follows:

"No Senator in debate shall, directly or indirectly, by any form of words imput to another Senator or to other Senators any conduot or motive unworthy or unbecoming a Senator."

Mr. Brewster: Mr. President, I ask that the Senate now proceed with the business before it.

The Presiding Officer: The business before the Senate is a motion of the Senator from South Dakota (Senator Gurney).

Mr. Brewster: I move conferees be appointed.

The Presiding Officer: The motion of the Senator from South Dakota will first have to be put.

Mr. Taylor: Mr. President, a point of order.

Mr. Brewster: Mr. President, the Senator cannot raise a point of order.

The presiding officer: The Senator is out of order. He will have to sit down.

Senator Taylor sat down.

Why, in face of this demonstration has it been necessary for the business of the entire nation to be tied up for weeks while Dixie demagogues carry on their tirades against the antilynching bill, the FEPC and every other piece of legislation which would improve the position of colored citizens and insure their civil rights?

Why is it that the Senate has sat, apparently helpless, while the law makers of the North are accused of catering to the colored vote and accused of all types of ulterior motives and chicanery?

Why is it that Northern Senators sat silent while Northern States are lambasted and denounced? Are we to believe that the learned members of the Senate during the past 30 years were unaware that Rule 19 existed and that they just discovered it in time to silence Senator Taylor.

No, we cannot accept that theory. Senator Taylor has therefore, brought about the "expose magnificant." He has pulled the cloak of hypocrisy off of our highest governing body. He has proved that the Senate can do WHAT IT WANTS TO DO and the will of that body cannot be thwarted by any one man or group of men when they honestly WANT TO VOTE ON ANY GIVEN MEASURE.

The back of the filibuster has been broken once and for all.

We are now in position to hold our alleged friends, Democratics and Republicans alike, strictly to account when the next filibuster arises. No Southerner can talk for long without violating rule 19.

When and if the Senate wants it can invoke that rule. The bugaboo and the stumbling block to civil rights has been removed once and for all.

In its anxiety to silence Glen Taylor, the Senate has proved that when it wants to it can silence anybody. The eyes of the American people have been opened. Let's engrave that lesson in our hearts and minds and let us force the Senate to use rule 19 in the future.

God bless Glen Taylor for bringing this about.

Southerners Plan Filibuster in Poll-Tax Fight

New York Herald — Wed 7-28-48

Fearful They Can't Block Gag Rule in Senate if Republicans Propose It

New York, N.Y.

By David McConnell

WASHINGTON, July 27. — Southern Democrats in the Senate prepared today for the greatest filibuster effort of their careers, beginning probably Thursday, to thwart Republican and Administration attempts to enact anti-poll tax or any other civil rights legislation.

Confronted with the Republican leaders' plan to make the anti-pool tax bill the first legislation called up for Senate debate, the Southerners, however, were uncertain tonight whether the majority leaders would attempt to use cloture to block filibuster attempts. They were fearful that they could not muster sufficient votes from below the Mason and Dixon Line to block such a move to limit speeches on the bill, although traditionally it is extremely difficult to invoke a gag rule in the Senate. Many members from all sections are normally inclined to vote against cloture regardless of whether they agree with the aims of the filibusterers.

Even before the Republican strategy was announced, the Southern Senators were threatening to filibuster as long as necessary to prevent passage of the anti-poll tax bill, which they consider one of the most obnoxious of civil rights proposals before Congress. The House passed that bill before the June 20 adjournment, but it did not reach the Senate floor.

New York Herald

To Decide Strategy Today

Early tonight Senator Richard B. Russell, Democrat, of Georgia, leader of the anti-Truman Southern bloc in the Senate, announced that the Southern group was determined to use "adequate time" to present the "real issues" of the bill to the nation. Senator Russell, who dislikes the word "filibuster," said Southern strategy probably will be to start "talking" should a motion to call the anti-poll tax bill be made. Final strategy plans, he said, will be outlined at a conference of Southern Senators tomorrow.

Calling the poll-tax issues "inflated political baloney," Senator Russell contended the real question at stake is granting the Federal government power to regulate election procedure in the states. He said that if Congress is granted power to regulate elections within states, it means "turning over elections to the Federal government and allowing a United States marshal to preside over every ballot box in every precinct.

Should Republicans attempt to call up the bill tomorrow, he said, his group will move to amend the Senate Journal, approval of which is the first order of business. He explained that if the Senate meets and adjourns tomorrow without other business there will be no Journal to amend Thursday, and a filibuster will have to depend on the motion to call up the bill.

In addition to their legislative woes, the Southerners were seething over President Truman's anti-discrimination executive orders yesterday.

Assailed as "Political Sop"

In a bitter statement Senator Russell assailed the Presidential order on fair employment practices procedure [illegible] employees and a second one calling for ultimate "equality of treatment and opportunity" in the armed services. The order affecting the military authorized creation of a seven-member committee to recommend changes in the armed services rules to eliminate discrimination.

The Georgia Senator asserted that both orders were "political sop" and "unconditional surrender to the Progressive party of Henry A. Wallace." He said timing of release of the orders with the opening of the special session of Congress "made clear the political implications."

Senator Russell said the President was "playing both sides of the road." He asserted that Mr. Truman has held office for three years "but did not see fit to issue these orders [illegible] convention showed that Mr. Wallace "has captured" a majority of the Negro vote.

Calling the fair employment practice order a "political sop," he said Negroes already hold more than 10 per cent of the Federal jobs in Washington and added there is no segregation in government restaurants.

On the armed services order, the Senator said: "The Negro leaders have so frightened him (the President) and other political leaders they overlook the fact that 90 per cent of the people of the nation who are white are also supposed to have civil rights."

He charged that both orders bow to the "treasonable civil disobedience campaign" organized by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Pullman Car Porters, an American Federation of Labor affiliate.

Mr. Randolph has suggested that Negroes refuse to be drafted until segregation is eliminated in the armed services. In New York today he criticized the President's order as a "misleading move, obviously made for political purposes

and deliberately calculated to obscure the issue of segregation and to confuse the people at home and abroad."

Joining Senator Russell in the attack were Senators John C. Stennis, of Mississippi, and John L. McClellan, of Arkansas. Senator Stennis called the executive orders "a political maneuver" and asserted that abolition of racial segregation in the armed forces would be a "grave threat to military and civilian morale." Senator McClellan called the orders a Presidential "gesture to compete with Mr. Wallace for the Negro vote."

Senator Allen J. Ellender, of Louisiana, saw the possibility of Southern states calling special legislative sessions to change election laws. With a States Rights ticketts of Governors J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, for President, and Fielding Wright of Mississippi, for Vice-President, in the field, Senator Ellender explained that most Southern states have election laws making it "almost impossible" to get other than Republicans or Democrats on the ballot.

Bilbo's Successor Out-Bilbo's Bilbo

By LEM GRAVES JR.

(Pittsburgh Courier Press Service)

WASHINGTON—In the ignoble tradition of his predecessor, Senator Theodore Bilbo, Mississippi's junior Senator, John C. Stennis, Thursday delivered his maiden speech on the floor of the United States Senate.

Senator Stennis left no doubt that he was the successor to Senator Bilbo by devoting his maiden address to a pleading for special Southern privilege to by-pass the provisions of the Federal constitution and the traditions of democratic liberty in handling the Negroes of the South in typically Southern fashion.

SAME OLD STORY

Although, in the first part of his maiden address, he avoided much of the demogaguery and racial name-calling, which featured such addresses by Bilbo, he could not resist the temptation to employ the time-honored practice of pointing out that Southerners were the only friends the Negro had and that the Negro appreciated the way Southern States handled their problems.

Senator Stennis began his address by explaining his own views of the constitutionality of civil rights legislation before the Senate and warning that passage of this legislation would undermine constitutional government in this country. While his views differed with those expressed in Congressional hearings on civil rights bills by famous and universally respected constitutional lawyers and experts, the speech up to this point was an explanation of his personal view that poll tax, anti-lynch, FEPC and non-segregation bills encroached upon state's rights.

But true to the Southern tradition in Congress, Senator Stennis pressed the proposition that the South was the great protector of the rights of Negroes and the most loyal friend of the Negro race.

Senator Stennis attacked each of the main civil rights bills, FEPC, poll tax, anti-lynch, and non-segregation. He did not make the distinction between the local segregation laws, which President Truman did not touch upon, and segregation interstate commerce which the President has attacked.

Senator Stennis, who held the floor for more than an hour, was followed by Senator Richard Russell (D., Ga.), who congratulated his Southern colleague on his maiden speech.

Housing Bill Has Fighting Chance, Report

WASHINGTON—There is still a fighting chance that the Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill will be passed in this session of Congress. Despite a snarl of Congressional procedures, supporters of the bill seem in a position to force the House Banking Committee to report the measure to the full House for debate and a vote.

The House committee, chaired by Rep. Jesse Wolcott (R., Mich.) is finally conducting leisurely hearings on the TEW measure, which will continue at least thru this week.

They may be speeded, though, by two developments. First, the American Legion executive committee last week endorsed the TEW bill, making a solid front of every major veterans' organization and every labor group in favor of the housing bill.

Second, the Senate slapped down an attempt to pass the parts of the TEW bill that the private builders want, an attempt made by Sen. Harry Cain (R., Wash.), stooge of the real estate lobby on the floor of the Senate.

Cain tried to amend a simple bill extending certain loan provisions of the National Housing Act by adding most of the TEW bill except the section on public housing. The majority of the Senators favored passing a simple extension o fthe loan provisions for 60 days, pending House action on the TEW bill, which the Senate has already passed, including the loan authorization.

Obviously afraid that this squeeze play would force even the real estate and homebuilders' supporters to allow the TEW bill to reach the House floor, Cain tried desperately for several days to get his bill passed.

So shocking was his performance that Senators Barkley (D., Ky.), Taft (R., Onio), Tobey (R., N.H.), Ellender (D., La.), Flanders (R., Vt.), and Myers (D., Pa) joined in the attack on his maneuver.

Tobey read from the National Association of Real Estate Board's bulletin outlining the strategy of the real estate lobby backing up Wolcott and Cain. He then listed on the side of the TEW bill President William Green of the AFL, urging "rapid approval" of the bill despite "a brazen maneuver to scuttle" the TEW measure. He added the report of the American Legion approval on the previous day. Then he told of the statement made from his hospital bed by United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther, who heads the CIO's Housing Committee. Reuther called the Cain maneuver "a surprise attempt to scuttle the TEW housing bill."

Sen. Myers, himself a leading Democrat, told Cain bluntly that his action in trying to pass a substitute bill while sponsor Taft was in Ohio for the primary fight "was an attempt to stab him in the back."

"I do not say the knife was in the hand of the junior Senator from Washington (Cain)" Myers smilingly replied when Cain protested, "but many people thought the effect of the amednment was to scuttle public housing."

Meanwhile, a renewed drive for the bill was pledged by the 200 delegates to the National Public Housing Conference, meeting in

Football

Editor Constitution: Since the Negro is being used for a political football, as Mr. McJenkin puts it, I don't see how he can say that the Negro has a better chance economically, morally and educationally in the South than any other place. He and everybody else in the South knows that the Negro has to run for his life like a rabbit in the South and not only that, they are used for everything else—for instance, like being the backbone for the South and being run down like mad dogs. I believe if everybody in Georgia and everywhere else would go on their knees and pray more it wouldn't be so much race hatred in the South. Most of the people in Georgia are serving Talmadge and KKK. They have forgotten about God. I don't see why the white people of Georgia keep on raving about the Negro. They haven't done anything but hold the white up, and just because the Negro wants something for himself for a change they say it is hate. But it is not hate on the Negro side. They are just trying to stop being a political football for the whites.

MRS. E. BUTLER.

Atlanta.

Southern Filibuster Wins

Southern Democrats won their fight against the anti-poll tax bill, killing it by a filibuster which lasted five days. The result was certain, however, on Monday, the third day of the filibuster, when an attempt to limit the debate failed.

Senator Vandenberg, as Senate President pro tempore, decided that cloture—restriction of debate to one hour for each Senator if two-thirds of the Senate favors it—could be invoked only against a pending measure and not against a motion to consider a bill, which was the specific action against which the Southerners were filibustering. Vandenberg was sorry; he said he personally favored enactment of the anti-poll tax bill but that the Senate rules and precedents permitted no other ruling. He agreed that the Senate "has no effective cloture rule at all" and was "at the mercy of unlimited debate ad infinitum."

Senator Taft, chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee, appealed the ruling, but Vandenberg said he would have to rule that cloture could not be invoked on such an appeal, either. Taft then conceded that the filibuster could be broken only by a long, laborious attempt to change the Senate cloture rules or by remaining in session until the twenty-one filibustering "Dixiecrats" talked themselves out. Either method would take at least a month and was therefore out of the question at the special session. Taft promised, however, that changing the rules to make cloture applicable to any pending business would have priority at the next session.

The aim of the Republican majority, in calling up the anti-poll tax bill and trying unsuccessfully to push it through, was to demonstrate that Truman was wrong in his contention that the Republicans were to blame for Congressional failure to enact civil rights legislation. He had said in his acceptance speech that the Senate could pass such legislation simply by invoking cloture.

The Republicans let the filibuster continue for two more days, then withdrew the anti-poll tax bill with a promise to clear the way for passage of broad civil rights legislation and modification of the cloture rule next year.

In the House, which because of its larger size has stricter rules on debate, a vote of 216 to 122 permitted suspension of rules to speed its work. Under this procedure, House debate on any bill is limited to forty minutes and no amendments from the floor are allowed, but the measure requires a two-thirds majority for approval.

Congress

House Gets Powell's New Civil Rights Bill For D. C.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat, of New York, last Wednesday introduced a revised version of a civil rights bill for the District of Columbia which he had earlier offered in the 80th Congress.

The revised bill would make it an offense for any person or corporation in the District of Columbia to discriminate against any person on account of race or religion in admission to or accommodation or service of persons in any public conveyance, or any public meeting place or assemblage, or to aid, incite or cause the practice of any such discrimination.

The offender would be subject for each such act or denial to a penalty from $100 to $500 which would be recoverable in a civil action in the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia.

He would also be charged with a misdemeanor and upon conviction in Police Court would be punishable by a fine of from $10 to $100 or imprisonment of from ten to 100 days, or by both fine and imprisonment.

Under the provisons of the bill, the terms "place of public education, accommodations, resort, entertainment, or amusement" would include schools, hotels, restaurants, stores, or shops where foodstuffs, drinks, goods, or wares are sold, offered, advertised, or displayed for sale to the public, hospitals, clinics, theatres, motion picture houses, concert halls, amusement parks, and public parks and public buildings.

OTHER PROVISIONS

The bill also would ban the publication of any order, notice or advertisement calculated to prevent or discourage the patronage of persons of any race or religion, as well as actual exclusion or segregation. Such a publication would be deemed an unlawful discrimination and its production would be prima facie evidence in any civil or criminal action that it was authorized and published by the person owning, leasing operating or managing the place or one of his agents or employees.

Every owner, lessee, operator, proprietor, manager, agent and employee, corporation association, engaged in or exercises control over the operation of any public conveyance or any place if public education, accommodation, resort entertainment, or amusement wiuld be subject to the provisions and requirements of the bill.

In case of violations of the provisions of the bill by any agent or employee, both he and his principal or employer would be held equally responsible and liable.

The bill would authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to revoke any license whenever it has been judicially determined that the licensee or person operating the business under the license has violated its provisions two times or more within a year. The offending person would be barred from obtaining a similar license within sixty days following such revocation.

Plan in House Aims to Fetter Southern Bloc

Forand Hopes to Enlarge Rules Committee, Block Voting With Republicans

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

WASHINGTON, Nov. 24.—A plan to minimize opposition to President Truman's program when it comes before the House Rules Committee of the House was announced today by Representative Aime J. Forand, Democrat, of Rhode Island.

Aware that Southern Democrats on the committee helped hamstring much of the Presidential program during the Eightieth Congress, Representative Forand will propose increasing the group's membership from twelve to fifteen. By allocating ten seats to Democrats, he feels the majority party will be assured of sufficient members favorable to the Administration program to forestall any combination there of Republicans with Dixie Democrats.

The rules group actually is a super-committee charged with channeling proposed legislation before the House for consideration. In outlining his proposals today, Representative Forand recalled that a combination of Southern Democrats and Republicans on the committee stifled "a real price-control bill" and blacked out the Senate-approved Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing legislation during the Eightieth Congress.

Although the Congressional reorganization law fixes the number of committee members, the Rhode Island Representative said the rules membership could be "easily enlarged" by altering House rules rather than the law itself. The move might result in opposition by Republicans and those Southern Democrats sensitive to the threat of passage of the President's strong civil rights program.

Sabath for Chairman

As the committee is now constituted, Representative Adolph J. Sabath, Democrat, of Illinois, is in line for its chairmanship, Representatives E. E. Cox, of Georgia, and Howard W. Smith, of Virginia, both Democrats who frequently allied themselves with Republicans during the Eightieth Congress, also will return. The fourth Democrat, Representative J. Bayard Clark, of North Carolina, who sat on the committee during Republican control, did not run for re-election.

Representative Forand, chairman of the House Democratic caucus and a member of the Ways and Means Committee, which makes committee assignments for all House Democrats, asserted that the rules group must be "sympathetic to the President's program."

In line with that program, Senator Elbert D. Thomas, Democrat, of Utah, who in the new Congress will be chairman of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, predicted today that Congress would revise the Taft-Hartley act, but he said this might take considerable time.

He said the Labor Committee would begin hearings in January but probably not until after it had taken up the question of Federal aid to education and of increasing the minimum wage from 40 cents an hour to 75 cents an hour.

"If there was any mandate from the people in the last election," he said, "then wage-hour and aid to eduction should come first."

Senator Thomas said that Congress will not scrap the entire Taft-Hartley act because it embodies much of the Wagner labor relations act. "It still contains the basic theories for which labor fought so long and hard," he said. "It will be modified and amended. Congress will take out the abuses under Taft-Hartley."

Asked what abuses he meant, he said those which restricted freedom of collective bargaining. In particular, he singled out the provision permitting the government to seek an injunction against unions in United States district courts to restrain them from unfair labor practices.

80th Congress, Smeared By Democrats And NAACP Benefited Negro, Says Val Washington

Washington, D. C. — Like the 30th Congress, which the President condemned, the 80th Congress also made its contribution to the improvement of the status of Negroes, Val J. Washington, Assistant Republican Presidential Campaign Manager, declared today.

Mr. Washington took exception to a press release by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People stating that the 80th Congress had failed to enact any legislation of special interest to Negroes. He pointed out that the Taft-Hartley Labor Act protects the employment rights of Negroes. He emphasized the fact that many of the unions which bar Negroes gain their power through closed shop contracts. Only members referred by the unions can be hired. The union accepts no Negroes and therefore refers none. The employer, even if he wished to employ Negro workers, cannot do so. Even unions which admit Negroes—like many of the building trades—have varying policies from local to local. Many Negro skilled tradesmen complain because the union leaders arbitrarily refuse to refer them to a given employer who might be willing to hire them. Under the Taft-Hartley Act Negro workers can apply for employment direct to employers whether or not they are members of the union although the shop is a union shop. The union may then admit him or not, his job does not depend on his membership except for non-payment of union dues if admitted.

It is also important to know that this act prevents an employer from practicing discrimination or discharging a Negro worker after he has been hired solely because the union refused to accept him into full membership.

The Taft-Hartley Act has resulted in being a Fair Employment Practice Act to Negroes in their relation to Organized Labor. In addition to the above it has:

(1) Guaranteed him the right, as an individual, to contribute to and participate in political activities of the Party and Candidate of HIS choice.

(2) Made it possible for him to take a job without first joining a union.

(3) Protected him from being charged a higher fee than other workers to join a union.

(4) Give him the right to vote secretly for or against a "union shop."

(5) Guaranteed him the right to know all the details of his union's finances, expenses, fees, dues, constitution and by-laws, and method of selecting officers.

(6) Outlawed bribes or "gifts" from his employer to his union officers.

(7) Given him the right as an individual to appeal to the National Labor Relations Board for protection of his rights and privileges.

Mr. Washington also pointed out that the 80th Congress had taken two other actions advocated by Negroes.

After the United States Supreme Court had ruled in the Lloyd Gaines case in Missouri, and the Ada Louis Sipuel Fisher case, that a state must provide equal educational facilities within its borders for Negroes or admit them to the State University, fourteen Southern States entered into a compact to utilize Meharry Medical College at Nashville, Tennessee, as a regional school. Congressional approval was sought and the Republican Senate under the leadership of Senator Wayne Morris refused to place its stamp of approval on this effort to perpetuate segregation. It is not difficult to imagine what the results would have been if the Democrats were in control of the Senate.

It is interesting to observe that the fight in the Senate for this nefarious project had the active support of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Bilbo was prevented from taking the oath of office in January 3, 1947, when he presented himself as the Senator-elect from Mississippi to succeed himself. After a two-day filibuster of Southern Democrats had prevented Republicans from organizing the Senate without seating Bilbo, Senator Alben W. Barkley, of Kentucky, the Democratic Vice Presidential nominee, proposed the compromise which permitted Bilbo to draw his salary and office expenses at the rate of about $37,000 a year until his death, without his having taken the oath as a Senator.

Barkley made his proposal after Republicans had decided to hold the Senate in continuous session through Saturday night and into Sunday, or longer, if necessary, to break the filibuster of Southern Democrats.

The Republican decision to bar Bilbo at the door of the Senate was based on charges growing out of his preventing Negroes from voting in the Mississippi Democratic Primary of July 2, 1946, and his dealings with Mississippi war contractors.

The three Democratic members of the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee filed a majority report holding that Bilbo had done nothing more than to uphold Mississippi law, custom and tradition in his "white supremacy" campaign speeches. Senator Allen J. Ellender, Democrat, of Louisiana, in a speech on the Senate Floor, January 4, 1946, praised Bilbo for the part he played in filibusters against anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and fair employment practice legislation.

The Republican members of the committee, Senators Styles Bridges, of New Hampshire, and Bourke B. Hickenlooper, of Iowa, filed a minority report in which they said:

"Never to the knowledge of the undersigned has such vile, contemptible, inflammatory, and dangerous language been uttered in a campaign for the purpose of procuring nomination and election by an incumbent and Member of the United States Senate, sworn to uphold the Constitution. Where, as in the case of Senator Bilbo, it goes far beyond mere crudeness and strikes with disturbing force at the bastions of our national solidarity, such speech constitutes a corrupt and flagrant abuse of the right of free speech.

"It cannot be justified on the basis of expediency or tradition, and after the decision of the Supreme Court in Smith versus Allwright, the illegality of advocating exclusion of Negroes from the polls for reason of color or race is apparent. The evidence presented to the committee clearly demonstrates that Senator Bilbo in his primary campaign in Mississippi has violated the Federal Constitution, the Federal Criminal Code, and the Hatch Act, and has aided, abetted, and urged the violation of these laws by officials of his own (Democrat) Party in that State."

President Truman, a former chairman of the Senate War Investigating Committee, who now poses as a champion of civil rights, was singularly silent on the charges of corruption and bribery made against Bilbo by two Senate committees; and certainly no prosecution of Bilbo was ever undertaken by the Department of Justice on the basic of his dealings with war contractors, which Senator Homer Ferguson, Republican of Michigan, clearly showed, were a violation of Federal law, or on the charges made by Senators Bridges and Hickenlooper.

"On the record, I submit Negroes should vote for Governor Dewey for the Republican ticket in November," Mr. Washington concluded.

Walter White Warns That Bias in U. S. Is Hurting Program

(From Pittsburgh Courier Press Service)

WASHINGTON—While he endorsed the Marshall plan for European recovery, Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, warned the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations here Tuesday that discrimination against minorities at home must be eliminated if the Marshall plan is to succeed.

Testifying before the committee, which is now conducting hearings on ERP (European Recovery Program), Mr. White urged extension of the Marshall Plan to provide aid for the needy people of Asia, Africa and the Caribbean, saying: "I want to remind the United States Senate that hunger is as painful to brown, yellow and black stomachs as it is to white ones."

NO STRINGS

The NAACP secretary declared that whatever aid is voted by Congress should be given without political or other strings. He pointed out that the Marshall Plan would intensify inflationary tendencies and recommended immediate adoption of "a comprehensive system of controls" which would protect the small wage earners and "would take into consideration the viewpoints and needs of every element of the American people—management, labor, the white collar class, and especially minorities who are limited by bigotry in earning a decent living."

Mr. White told the committee that the necessity of assuring equitable treatment of Americans, particularly of minorities here at home, was closely tied up with the European Recovery Program.

He declared: "A dozen European recovery programs cannot overcome the danger to the good name of the United States which is daily being done by the continuation of discriminaton based on race, creed, color or natonal origin." He pointed out that the United States Army had recently found it necessary to remind its personnel, through an Army indoctrination pamphlet, that racial and religious prejudice in this country is dong more than any other thing to lower the prestige of the United States abroad and to cast doubt on the integrity of our intentions.

Mr. White suggested that nations benefitting from the program be required to share whatever surpluses they had in food, machinery and technical skill with nations less fortunatae. He also urged that freedom and the right of self-determination be granted to their colonials by European countries which stand to benefit by the Marshall Plan.

MORAL OBLIGATION

Pointing out that some of these countries had made it clear that, now that the war is over they contemplate no fundamental change in the status of their colonials, Mr. White declared: "In aiding these white nations of Europe to rehabilitate themselves, we of the United States have a moral obligation to require that these countries adopt programs under which peoples currently subjected to their rule shall speedily be given the chance for freedom which these peoples ask for themselves.

He warned that the myth of white superiority has been destroyed and that "nothing will speed but strongly recommended "the World War III more than attempts determination to help all those in to re-establish 'white supremacy.' need, irrespective of race, creed, Any effort to do this will speed re- place of residence and political bevolt among the hundreds of mil- lief." lions of brown, yellow and black people who are determined to have freedom also."

On behalf of the NAACP, Mr. White-endorsed the Marshall Plan

39th Congress Passed Vital 14th Amendment

WASHINGTON (NNPA)—If for no other reason but that it passed the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, the 39th Congress cannot be compared with the 80th Congress, as President Truman did during his recent speech at the Grand Coulee Dam in the State of Washington.

Apparently unmindful of the fact that the 39th passed the Amendment which gave full citizenship rights to all persons regardless of color, race or previous condition of servitude, the President said that the two Congresses were the worse in the history of the United States.

The issue in both the 39th ("Thad Stevens") and the 80th Congresses was civil rights and there was a hitter fight in both Congresses between the President and Congress; but there the analogy ends.

39th Implemented Freedom

The 39th Congress, the first to convene after the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, April 15, 1865, had a sterling record as far as concerns passage of legislation which would benefit colored persons in this country.

Much of its work, moreover, had to be done by overriding the vetoes of Andrew Johnson, a poor white Tennessean, who succeeded to the Presidency upon Lincoln's death. Despite this obstacle, the 39th Congress's record compares favorably with that of any Congress in the history of the country.

"Worst" Applicable to 80th

Mr. Truman's description of the 80th Congress as one of the "worst in the country's history," may fit; for here we have the spectacle of members of both parties pledged to civil rights programs by their parties' platforms, who have made an inexcusable failure to pass civil rights legislation.

Passed 14th Amendment

The 39th Congress, which convened Dec. 4, 1865, under the leadership of the aging Thaddeus Stevens, jolted President Johnson, when, by an overwhelming vote, it set up a joint committee of 15 to consider the suitability of receiving representation from the seceded States.

This Congress also passed the 14th Amendment, granting full citizenship rights to all persons without regard to race, color or previous condition of servitude; and the Reconstruction Act, which opened the way for the new citizens of the South to elect representatives of their own to Congress and the State Legislature.

It further passed bills, all vetoed by President Johnson, which would:

Extend the power of the Freedmen's Bureau and distribute 40-acre lots of unoccupied land to the newly-freed citizens; and protect colored persons in the South, with bayonets if necessary, from ex-Confederates' violence.

Barkley Sees Filibuster Ban, Civil Rights Act

But Truman Probably Will Seek Taft Act's Repeal Before Taking Up Issue

By Jack Steele

WASHINGTON, Nov. 17.—Vice-President-Elect Alben W. Barkley predicted today that the new Democratic Congress will carry out the party's platform and President Truman's campaign pledges by enacting a program of civil rights legislation next year.

He hinted that Senate Democratic leaders would fight for a change in rules to outlaw filibusters, which have blocked all previous attempts to push civil rights bills through the Senate. The Republicans promised last summer to make such a rules change their first order of business next year.

The veteran Kentucky Senator, who is expected to continue as Democratic floor leader until his inauguration on Jan. 20, returned to Washington last night after his "vacation" visit with President Truman at Key West, Fla.

He told reporters today that, while he had not discussed the legislation program for the coming session with Mr. Truman in Florida, he expected the President to submit his full civil rights program to Congress again in his State of the Union message.

Asked whether he believed Congress would enact "some civil rights legislation," he replied with an air of confidence: "I would think so."

Senator Barkley declined, however, to hazard a guess as to how soon any civil rights legislation would reach the Senate floor or as to what bills might have precedence.

It is generally expected at the Capitol that no attempt will be made to push civil rights legislation through the Senate for at least several months after Congress convenes on Jan. 3.

This is based on the assumption that the administration will try to carry out some of its other promises—such as repeal of the Taft-Hartley act—before alienating the affections of Southern Democrats in a civil rights battle.

Senator Barkley said that he favored a change in the Senate rules to make cloture (limitation of debate) applicable to any pending business.

This would destroy the favorite filibuster device of the Southern Democrats, who have blocked civil rights bills in the Senate by talking endlessly on motions to "amend the journal." Such motions are not subject to cloture under present rules.

Representative Harold Knutson, Republican, of Minnesota, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee in the present Congress, predicted separately today that the new Congress would approve an excess-profits tax. Mr. nutson, defeated for re-election Nov. 2 after more than thirty-one years in the House, said: "I expect President Truman to ask Congress for the first peace-time excess-profits tax in history. Furthermore, I look for the next Congress to regard the election as a mandate and give the President what eh requests just as the Seventy-third Congress did for Roosevelt in 1933."

To Sponsor Profits Tax

Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Democrat, of Wyoming, regarded as possible Majority Leader of the Senate in the forthcoming Congress, made it clear yesterday he intends to reintroduce excess-profits tax legislation when the Eighty-first Congress convenes.

Pointing out that the nation has a staggering national debt of $257,000,000,000 which must be paid off to maintain the soundness of the capitalistic system, and that billions of dollars are needed for aid abroad, Senator O'Mahoney said:

"I believe that with profits running at an all-time high we should not hesitate to impose an excess-profits tax. Such a tax can be so devised as to encourage investment of private capital in new enterprises."

The Senator spoke at a luncheon in the Waldorf-Astoria given by the American Wool Council, the International Wool Secretariat and the Textile Research Institute of Princeton to inaugurate a four-year wool-research program. The statement on excess-profits tax was made in response to questions by reporters.

Congress Told to Act Now

Pittsburgh Courier

Permanent Commission On Civil Rights, End Of Segregation on Buses in South Urged By President Truman

(From The Pittsburgh Courier Press Service)

WASHINGTON — President Truman sent his special message on Civil Rights to Congress Monday afternoon. It called for a comprehensive ten-point program of legislation.

The Courier predicted four weeks ago that the President would send this type of message to Congress.

The President recommended:

1. Establishing a permanent commission on civil rights, a joint Congressional commission on civil rights and a civil rights division in the Department of Justice.

2. Strengthening existing civil rights statutes.

3. Providing Federal protection against lynching.

4. Protecting more adequately the right to vote.

5. Establishing a Fair Employment Practices Commission to prevent unfair discrimination in employment.

6. Prohibiting discrimination in inter-State transportation facilities.

7. Providing home rule and suffrage in Presidential elections for the residents of the District of Columbia.

8. Provide statehood for Hawaii and Alaska and a greater measure of self-government for our island possessions.

9. Equalizing the opportunities for residents of the United States to become naturalized citizens.

10. Settling the evacuation claims of Japanese-Americans.

Negro Is in Line To Head Major Group in House

Democrats Face Race Issue As Mr. Dawson, of Illinois, Holds Position of Seniority

WASHINGTON, Nov. 5 (AP).—An outright race issue confronts the new Democratic majority of the House—a Negro is in line to head a major committee of Congress.

He is Representative William L. Dawson, of Illinois, Georgia-born Chicago attorney who was re-elected Tuesday to his fourth term.

Representative Dawson actually is only the second ranking Democrat on the Executive Expenditures Committee. But the No. 1 man—Representative John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts—is slated to return to his job of majority floor leader. And the majority leader customarily does not have any committee assignments: he never has carried the burden of a major chairmanship.

Democratic committee assignments in the House are arranged by the party's members of the Ways and Means Committee. This group's recommendations are submitted to a caucus of all House Democrats, then to the entire House.

The Ways and Means members' recommendations are usually approved by the caucus, since they are worked out with the party's leaders and committee chairmen. Acceptance by the House is a formality.

Almost without exception, chairmanships are decided on committee seniority; that is, on how long a man has been on the committee, rather than how long he has been in Congress.

If tradition is followed in his case, Representative Dawson will be the first modern-day Negro Representative to head an important regular committee. He represents Illinois' 1st District which has sent Negro members to Congress for many years. The only other present Negro House member is Representative Adam C. Powell jr., of New York, who

Committee at 10:30 a.m., on behalf of federal workers in general employees in also valuables of most intrinsic worth. He performs these duties

a flat $1,000 raise with very few breaches of faith. workers retroac- These solid men and women are 1, 1948 and to homemakers and in my section permanent basis. of New York City, it is absoPowell said lutely impossible to maintain a worker is the most family on the present basis. A American citizens. $1,000 increase is absolutely imoyee, in particu- perative."

Congressman Powell Asks $1000 Raise For Postmen

NEW YORK, March 8—Representative Adam Clayton Powell, 22nd Congressional District, New York, testified publicly before the House Post Office and Civil Service

Report on the 80th Congress

The Courier
Sat 6-19-48

By LEM GRAVES Jr.
(Courier Washington Correspondent)

Pittsburgh Pa.

WASHINGTON—What's the score on the Eightieth Congress?

As it drives toward a recess and, probably, adjournment this Saturday, the Eightieth Congress looks good or bad depending on your point of view. If you are a big businessman, a professional internationalist, or an old line Republican, it may look good. If you are a small income consumer, a slum dweller, an underprivileged "common man," a member of a minority group or a New Deal Democrat, it may look bad.

Come Saturday of this week, legislators, delegates and plain ordinary citizens will converge on Philadelphia where the main business of the hour will be the selection of a Presidential candidate and the preparation of that perennial piece of political deception called the party platform.

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Almost forgotten in the Presidential race confusion is the fact that every member of the House of Representatives and one-third of the membership of the Senate must face re-election on the same November Tuesday on which the American voters choose a President.

Overlooked in the general preoccupation with Presidential candidacies is the fact that it is the members of Congress who really run this constitutional democracy and that Presidents are relatively less important in the matters which affect the individual welfare of the Nation's citizens than are the 435 Representatives and the ninety-six Senators who sit in the Congress. A well-intentioned President is helpless before a recalcitrant Congress and Harry S. Truman is Exhibit A.

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In balancing the books on the Eightieth Congress, there are a couple of things to keep in mind. The first is that the Republicans not only constituted a preponderant majority in the House of Representatives, but the GOP leadership exercised absolute, almost monarchial control over the votes and opinions of Congressmen. Party regularity was monotonously maintained and House passage of any given legislation could be dictated with amazing precision. If the House failed to enact legislation in the interest of the general welfare, the House GOP leadership is inescapably responsible. The Senate GOP majority was comparatively slim. Senate GOP leadership—ostensibly vested in Senator Robert Taft—could exercise only limited control. Republican mavericks made party regularity a joke, and the infamous coalition between Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans operated through most of the session.

THE SECOND consideration is Republican party platform pledges. Against this platform, the GOP record is seen in its worst light. If anybody has been so politically naive as to believe in party platforms, heretofore, the record of the Eightieth Congress is certainly likely to disillusion him.

Pittsburgh Pa.

In addition to civil rights legislation, none of which has passed the Eightieth Congress, Negro readers have a considerable stake in certain other social welfare legislation which has come before this Congress with fairly negative results. The bills and the status of them as the Republicans adjourn the Eightieth Congress to repair to Philadelphia to write more promises in these fields are briefly outlined in the two categories—civil rights and social legislation—below!

CIVIL RIGHTS

POLL TAX: Passed by the House last summer; stymied in Senate rules committee where clearance was promised as the one civil rights test; the promise never honored. Innocuous anti-poll tax amendment added draft bill; affects only soldiers who had been exempt under previous draft laws.

ANTI-LYNCHING: Debated at regular weekly meetings by the members of Senate judiciary committee after extended hearings; never reported in spite of leadership commitment to give it the first "civil rights" priority before the poll-tax bill was later substituted in this "preferred" position; never considered in the House by committee although Speaker Martin personally pledged its passage in a dramatic ceremony on the Capitol steps when the second session opened.

FEPC: Won a close victory in the Senate labor committee but despite favorable report was blocked off the Senate floor by the opposition leadership; ignored by House committee; this is the bill to which the GOP leadership pays least "lip service."

ARMY JIM CROW: Bills to accomplish elimination of segregation in the armed services totally ignored by Congress; amendments to draft bill which would have accomplished this voted down in Senate, 67-7; likely to get short shrift by House if draft bill reaches floor.

JIM-CROW TRAVEL: Bills to eliminate segregation in interstate commerce was assigned to a subcommittee of the House Interstate Commerce Committee last year but no hearings were held; Senate rejected this amendment to the draft bill for soldiers.

CLOTURE: Senate rules committee rejected, last year, a bill to permit a majority of members to limit debate in the Senate.

CIVIL RIGHTS IN DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: A bill to guarantee civil rights to Negroes in the Nation's Capital, to eliminate segregation in the schools and in recreation, and to prohibit discrimination in public places has been by-passed by the House District Committee; despite repeated efforts to get hearings on the bill, its author, Representative Adam Powell (D., N. Y.) has never succeeded.

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DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA SUFFRAGE AND HOME RULE: The famous Auchincloss plan to give home rule to the citizens of Washington, of which about 24 per cent are Negroes, was killed in the House District Committee and it is generally agreed that a prime consideration in blocking this bill was the fact that Negroes would be able to elect some city officials; a bill introduced in the Senate by Senator Capper to grant citizens of Washington the right to vote was never granted a committee hearing.

SOCIAL WELFARE LEGISLATION

HOUSING: The Taft-Ellender-Wagner comprehensive, long-range housing bill, finally enacted in the Senate this spring, has been pigeon-holed in the House labor committee; Chairman Jesse Wolcott reported out his own bill which was devoid of the public housing features of the TEW bill; however, his own committee, in voting on reporting a bill to the House floor narrowly missed a favorable report on the TEW bill instead of the Wolcott bill and a late voting switch enabled the committee to tack the public housing features on to the Wolcott bill which makes this bill essentially the same as the TEW bill; unless public housing is defeated on the floor when the bill comes up for voting in the final days of the session, chances for passage of this measure, beneficial to low-income families, are good. Some housing legislation is certain to pass since realty interests—opposed to public housing—favor the extension of insurance concessions and other privileges advantageous to them; further authorization of Title VI mortgage insurance under FHA are dependent on Congressional action of some kind.

AID-TO-EDUCATION: The Senate passed a bill to provide Federal aid to education; the House labor committee, the House rules committee, and the House leadership are jointly blamed for side-tracking the measure in the lower chamber.

MINIMUM WAGE: No action taken by either house on raising the minimum wage level from 40 cents to 75 cents.

HEALTH: The Murray-Dingell national health act, sponsored by Democratic legislators, has been ignored in the House and given prolonged and relatively disinterested handling by a Senate labor subcommittee.

SOCIAL SECURITY: Despite President Truman's request for legislation to broaden the coverage of social security, to increase payments, and to make more workers eligible, no Congressional action has been taken. Under the Truman formula, domestic workers, largely colored, and agricultural workers, many of whom are Negroes, would get this protection.

COST OF LIVING CONTROLS: The Eightieth Congress has steered clear of any price controls; under the pressure of an acute housing shortage it renewed, in considerably liberalized form, rent controls. The House passed on oleomargerine tax repeal act but action on it in the Senate has been delayed and it is not likely to pass because of the bitter opposition of dairy interests.

DISPLACED PERSONS: The Senate passed a bill to admit European refugees to this country but burdened it with restrictions which would seriously restrict Jews and would, in many respects, defeat the original purpose of the legislation; the House last week passed a bill to admit 200,000 displaced persons and included much more liberal conditions.

The Eightieth Congress put its shoulder to the wheel on European Recovery, labor act adjustments, foreign aid, selective service, and armed services appropriations. It reduced taxes, although its expenditures in the "cold war" against Russia promise to make tax reduction a very temporary relief. It made great economic claims, for political purposes, and then failed to effect the economies it so haphazardly promised.

It devoted considerable attention to the threat of communism in this country, clapping screen writers in jail and generally beating its collective breast about "Red" influences, meanwhile doing very little to eliminate the causes of justifiable grievances about undemocratic and unfair treatment of racial minorities and of underprivileged people of all races which form the basis for Communist propaganda exploitation here.

The House passed a bill to outlaw subversive activities and throw a dragnet around dissenters. The Senate has yet to act on this Mundt-Nixon bill.

It pushed through some legislation of special benefit to business interests. It involved Atomic Energy Commission officials in parti-

san politics.

Liberal Negro leaders count one victory in the august chambers of the U. S. Senate where the Republicans, under the whip of Senator Wayne Morse's passionate oratory, turned back a bid of Southern Senators to get Congressional approval of segregation in education under the ruse of a Regional Education Compact.

Powell Introduces Revised D.C. Civil Rights Measure

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NPNA)—Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat, of New York, last Wednesday introduced a revised version of a civil rights bill for the District of Columbia which he had earlier offered in the Eightieth Congress.

The revised bill would make it an offense for any person or corporation in the District of Columbia to discriminate against any person on account of race or religion of any such discrimination.

The offender would be subject for each such act or denial to a penalty of from $100 to $500 which would be recoverable in a civil action in the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia.

Misdemeanor

He would also be charged with a misdemeanor and upon conviction in Police Court would be punishable by a fine of from $1[illegible] to $100 or imprisonment of from ten to 100 days, or by both fine and imprisonment.

Under the provisions of the bill, the terms "places of public education, accommodation, resort, entertainment, or amusement" would include schools, hotels, restaurants, stores, or shops where foodstuffs, drinks, goods, or wares are sold, offered, advertised, or displayed for sale to the public, hospitals, clinics, theaters, motion picture [illegible]ion in admission to or accommodation or service of persons in any public conveyance, or any public meeting place or assemblage, or to aid, incite or cause the practice houses, concert halls, amusement parks, and public parks and public buildings.

The bill also would ban the publication of any order, notice or advertisement calculated to prevent or discourage the patronage or persons of any race or religion, as well as actual exclusion or segregation. Such a publication would be deemed an unlawful discrimination and its production would be prima facie evidence in any civil or criminal action that it was authorized and published by the person owning, leasing, operating or managing the place or one of his agents or employees.

Subjection

Every owner, lessee, operator, proprietor, manager, agent and employee, corporation, or unincorporated association, engaged in or exercising control over the operation of any public conveyance or any place of public education, accommodation, resort, entertainment, or amusement would be subject to the provisions and requirements of the bill.

In case of violation of the provisions of the bill by an agent or employee, both he and his principal or employer would be held equally responsible and liable.

The bill would authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to revoke any license whenever it has been judicially determined that the licensee or person operating the business under the license has violated its provisions two times or more within a year. The offending person would be barred from obtaining a similar license within sixty days following such revocation.

President Demands Controls

WASHINGTON, July 24 (UP)—President Truman told the openly hostile 80th Congress today it must stop inflation or take the blame for a disastrous depression. He demanded quick passage of an excess-profits tax, wage-price ceilings, stand-by rationing powers and other measures to "put the brake on high prices."

He also called for action now on a low-rent-housing program and went on to list nine other major national problems which he said it was up to the special session to solve at once.

Anti-Filibuster Plea

The President today mentioned civil rights only secondarily. It was an obvious plea that the southern bloc not be allowed to tie up the Senate in an anti-racial rights filibuster.

Truman asked that controls be clamped again on installment buying and other forms of consumer credit; that the Federal Reserve Board be given broader power to curb bank lending; that commodity market speculation be regulated; that the Administration be given authority to order compulsory allocation and distribution controls over scarce materials (such as steel), and that rent controls be strengthened.

Doesn't Mention Meat

Contrary to expectations, he did not ask for rationing of meat. He asked only for "stand-by authority . . . to ration those few products in short supply which vitally affect the health and welfare of our people."

He commented that the authority "might not have to be used at all."

On the explosive wage-price control issue, Truman called for price controls over "scarce commodities which basically affect essential industrial production or the cost of living."

He repeated his belief that wage increases could and should be granted in many cases out of corporation profit margins. But he said the government should have power to forbid wage increases that "would force a break in a price ceiling."

On housing, he praised the Taft-Ellender-Wagner long-range bill already passed by the Senate but stalled in the House.

"This is the bill we need," he said. "We need it now, not a year from now." House leaders stopped the measure cold at the last session because it contained slum clearance and public housing features.

Truman indirectly took note of Republican threats to plunge the session into an immediate fight over civil rights legislation.

"I have asked the Congress to return, first of all, in order to meet the urgent need of our people for relief from high prices and the housing shortage," he said. "I urge the Congress not to be distracted from these central purposes."

Sees Red Vultures

His only reference to world tension and the Communists came when he said:

"The Communists, both here and abroad, are counting on our present prosperity turning into a depression. They do not believe that we can—or will—put the brake on high prices. They are counting on an economic collapse in this country."

After listing his 11-point program, the President wound up by saying there were several other things Congress might take up if it "finds time."

These included national health insurance; repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act; a "real long-range farm program;" strengthening of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act; Universal military training; stronger anti-trust laws; a national science foundation and approval of the St. Lawrence seaway project.

Thomas L. Stokes

The Shameful Filibuster

WASHINGTON — Once again we have the somewhat nauseous spectacle of a filibuster by a handful of Southern Senators to prevent action on a measure to lift one of the restrictions in the South on the right to vote, a basic right in our democracy.

In bringing forward the bill to repeal the poll tax as a prerequisite of voting for Federal officials, the Republican Senate leadership has selected the least controversial of the measures embraced in the civil rights program they long have indorsed and which now also carries the specific indorsement of President Truman and the general but unmistakable indorsement by the 1948 Democratic platform.

Developments will show to what extent the Republican leadership is sincere in pushing this bill forward at the outset of the special session and to what extent it is a political maneuver to embarrass President Truman by revealing the split in his own party and thus retaliation for his call for a special session.

Whatever Republican motives may be—and doubtless they are mixed, politics being what it is—the Southerners must bear the onus of tangling up Senate procedure by a corruption of the rights and privileges of a legislative minority and of whatever ill effects accrue to other pending legislation from their obstructive tactics.

WITH OUR democracy on parade before the world today it is time to make at least this start affecting the fundamental right of a free ballot. This is not the only impediment on the ballot in the South, but it is one easily reached and removed. The need for abolition of the poll tax has been recognized among many Southerners for a long time. This is attested not only by the fact that in recent years four Southern states have abolished the poll tax, but also by the active campaigns against this and other discriminations.

The success of this campaign by earnest Southerners is manifest in a general increase in voting by Negroes in the South since 1940.

This activity has included the bringing of court cases which resulted in the Supreme Court's outlawry of the "White Primary," another voting restriction, the subsequent campaigns against various subterfuges to maintain the "White Primary," and campaigns against registration practices by which Negroes are kept from voting, which is now perhaps the most serious and effective form of disfranchisement.

The Filibuster is stark evidence of one fact often commented upon here, which is the backwardness of many members of Congress from the South as contrasted with the forward look of many people in the South who are working for changes and who are misrepresented by leaders who stalk up and down the Senate Chamber in their cheap and shoddy filibuster performance.

* * *

GEORGIA is the latest state to abolish the poll tax. Others which have done away with it in recent years are North Carolina, Florida and Louisiana. But there are still seven states where a citizen has to pay a tax for the privilege of voting, itself un-American and undemocratic — Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. In three of these states it is cumulative, two years in Mississippi, three in Virginia, and in Alabama for as many years as the citizen has failed to pay since he came of voting age.

In those states, particularly, and to a degree in others, it is an effective deterrent to voting among many persons, both colored and white, of low incomes.

While this reform preferably should be achieved by the states, themselves, the difficulties in the states where the tax is still imposed are so great that it has become necessary for Congress to act in the field where it has authority, in election of Federal officials. This is important for the formulation of national democratic policy.

He Dared Speak Truth

New Orleans Informer & Sentinel

We know the columnists and savants will point out to us that President Truman's message to Congress, asking passage of federal laws to prevent lynching and discrimination against citizens on account of race, creed or color, is political bait But, so far as we are concerned, he is still the highest executive in America, stripping out fictions and complacencies to their naked hides, and telling not only Congress, but the whole of America and the world, that we need laws to correct evils to minorities.

It is a great message, and it is a courageous stand. If one were concerned in arguing the extent to which politics may have prompted the statement, one would have to weigh the adverse political effect that the statement and position that the President takes may have in the South.

But in our opinion the whole question of political significance is entirely beside the point. The fact is, one of the most conspicuous personalities in our present day life has spoken, where all will hear, words which move this question of discrimination and abuse against minorities into the middle of the arena and the center of American activities and thinking.

Informer & Sentinel

The Democratic South will be embarrassed to have their Democratic President virtually charging and exposing their discriminations from a platform as conspicuous as the White House.

New Orleans La.

Incidentally, whether he had a slant toward politics or not, anyone can recognize that the President's open, clear-cut, unequivocal stand challenges the Republicans on the question of fairness to minorities. The President is through with temporizing, through with expediency, through with gradualism, through with worrying himself to death trying to make some show of right, at the same time that he avoids offending the proponents of discrimination and injustice to minorities. The President is a free man for having taken his stand, and by having abandoned all pretense at subterfuge or at trying to placate.

It is almost certain that Congress will not pass all of the things the President asks, and probably will pass only a few from a numerical standpoint. But this statement will make it a lot easier for Congress to pass legislation as a beginning toward eliminating these discriminations than it would have been if the President had not spoken.

His statement is not going to make the Southerners who believe in white supremacy change over night. But it is going to make it easier for a lot more liberals to speak up and to take positive stands without being proscribed for it.

Sat. 2-7-48

Indeed, it puts the Southerner further on the defensive in his attempt to hold to segregation and discrimination. We pointed out during the war that the scales had turned, and that the Southern proponents of state-endorsed discriminations were on the defensive and would never get off the defensive again.

The President's statement is far more significant than any impact it may have upon his political opponents, or even upon the thinking and action of the current Congress.

Informer & Sentinel

It means that the Chief Executive of the nation boldly left the side of the Southerners in their tradition, placing himself squarely in opposition to them. With so many liberals springing up in the South, and the Chief Executive and the government's influence massed against the traditions of the South, it leaves the embittered and embattled Southerner almost backed up against the wall in his attempt to defend segregation and discrimination.

Sat 2-7-48

We predict that Truman's rating in the Gallup poll will leap tremendously as a result of this message to Congress. Not because of what Negroes will do, but because the great majority of American citizens know that what he said is true, they know that it should have been said, and they will respect him and have confidence in him for his having dared to speak the truth.

New Orleans, La.

Rep. Adam Powell Introduces New Civil Rights Bill

The Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City, Okla.
Sat. 1-31-48

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. — (NNPA) —Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat, of New York, last Wednesday introduced a revised version of a civil rights bill for the District of Columbia which he had earlier offered in the Eightieth Congress.

The revised bill would make it an offense for any person or corporation in the District of Columbia to discriminate against any person on account of race or religion in admission to or accommodation or service of persons in any public conveyance, or any public meeting place or assemblage, or to aid, incite or cause the practice of any such discrimination.

Sat
The Black Dispatch

The offender would subject for each such act or denial to a penalty of from $100 to $500, which would be recoverable in a civil action in the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia.

He would also be charged with a misdemeanor and upon conviction in Police Court would be punishable by a fine of from $10 to $100 or imprisonment of from ten to 100 days or both fine and imprisonment.

Oklahoma City Okla.

Under the provisions of the bill, the terms "places of public education, accommodation, resort, entertainment, or amusement" would include schools, hotels, restaurants, stores, or shops where foodstuffs, drinks, goods or wares are sold, offered, advertised, or displayed for sale to the public, hospitals, clinics, theaters, motion pictures houses, concert halls, amusements parks, and public parks and public buildings.

The bill also would ban the publication of any order, notice or advertisement calculated to prevent or discourage the patronage of persons of any race or religion, as well as actual exclusion or segregation. Such a publication would be deemed an unlawful discrimination and its production would be prima facie evidence in any civil or criminal action that it was authorized and published by the person owning, leasing operating or managing the place or one of his agents or employees.

Every owner, lessee, operator, proprietor, manager, agent and employee, corporation, or unincorporated association, engaged in or exercising control over the operation of any public conveyance or any place of public education, accommodation, resort, entertainment or amusement would be subject to the provisions and requirements of the bill.

Sat
1-31-48

In case of violation of the provisions of the bill by an agent or employee, both he and his principal or employer would be held equally responsible and liable.

The bill would authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to revoke any license whenever it has been judicially determined that the licensee or person operating the business under the license has violated its provisions two times or more within a year. The offending person would be barred from obtaining a similar license within sixty days following such revocation.

GOP Flunks 'Rights' Test

Atlanta Constitution

Helps Dixie Bloc Kill Equal Fund Clause

Sat 2-28-48

RECORD BURNED

Wallace's Aide Scores Shameful Betrayal

Baltimore Md.

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — The insincerity, deception, and political chicanery of both major parties on the fundamental civil rights' issue, was again transparent on March 8 when the House, by a top-heavy standing vote, 119 to 40, rejected an anti-discrimination amendment to the Labor-Federal Security appropriation bill.

The amendment was offered by Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP. N.Y.), and its identical language had been originally inserted in the bill by Rep. Frank B. Keefe (Rep., Wis.), chairman of the House Labor-Federal Security appropriations subcommittee.

What happened thereafter constitutes a sordid chapter in Fascist techniques imported into Congress by those who would welcome a shooting war with Russia over the absence of democracy in her satellite European domains while denying it to 15 million colored Americans.

Sat 3-6-48

Voting Record Burned

Here are salient revelations on how the amendment was sabotaged by Democrats and Republicans:

After the full House Appropriations Committee, behind closed doors, had voted 25 to 6 to strike out the amendment, the voting record was ordered burned and every Congressman was sworn to secrecy, so that their duplicity would never be known.

On this, the first floor vote in the House on one small aspect of the civil rights program, most Republicans and Truman Democrats from the North were carefully off the floor, leaving the matter in the sure hands of poll-tax Southerners.

GOP Double-Cross

Republican leaders secretly passed down "the word" that the amendment must be defeated.

The Republican Minority Whip, John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, was busy summoning Southern members to the floor, and they responded in droves.

Keefe's Plea

However, determined that his party go on record one way or the other for a practical application of civil rights, Rep. Keefe said during the secret committee debate: "You can talk about antilynching bills and abolition of jim-crow laws, but there is a practical way to show where the Federal Government stands—by withholding money from institutions which discriminate against colored people."

Dixie Bid Successful

Mr. Keefe's support of the amendment in committee was vigorously opposed by Rep. Joe Hen-

OUR FRIENDS

For the amendment: Republicans—Frank B. Keefe, Wisconsin; Gordon Canfield, New Jersey; Ralph Church, Illinois, and Karl Anderson, Minnesota.

OUR FOES

Against the amendment: Republicans—Taber, New York; Wigglesworth, Massachusetts; Plumley, Vermont; Engel, Michigan; Kerr, North Carolina; Sheppard, California; Clevenger, Ohio; Stockman, Oregon; Griffiths, Ohio; Thomas, Texas; Hendricks, Florida; Norrell, Arkansas; Gore, Tennessee; Andrews, Virginia; and Tibbott, Pennsylvania; Fenton, Pennsylvania; Bates, Kentucky.

Democrats — Cannon, Missouri; Whitten, Mississippi; Johnson, Indiana; Jensen, Iowa; Alabama; Gary,

dricks (Dem., Fla.), who appealed (successfully) to the Republicans to help the Southern bloc vote down the amendment—reminding them that Florida once voted for Herbert Hoover.

Mr. Keefe retorted: "Florida voted for Hoover because Al Smith was a Catholic. That's just another example of intolerance."

Supporting Rep. Hendricks in his wooing of the Republicans were other Southern Democrats—George Andrews, Alabama; Albert Gore, Tennessee; Jamie Whitten, Mississippi; John Kerr, North Carolina; George Mahon, Texas; and Albert Thomas, Texas.

Republicans Desert Keefe

Mr. Keefe, his back to the wall, and with negligible help from his Republican colleagues—all but three of whom deserted him when the final secret vote was taken—declared finally:

"There is no discrimination by the tax collector. He collects taxes from white and colored alike. Yet colored students can't be admitted to universities and hospitals which they help pay for.

"Disease knows no racial barriers. With the life expectancy of colored people 10 years less than whites, it presents a serious problem."

Marcantonio's Statement

Rep. Marcantonio said in support of his amendment:

"Never for a long time have I seen so many Democrats from below the Mason and Dixon Line on the floor as I see this afternoon, and never have I seen so few Republicans in any session of the 80th Congress as I see this afternoon.

"The President sent a civil rights message to Congress. Those who are opposing this program are here in good number. Are the other Democrats as mild about Mr. Truman's program as the Republicans have been in the Committee on Appropriations?

Parties Scored

"Why are we, who have consistently fought for civil rights, confronted with this kind of tactics this afternoon?

"It is because nobody, neither Republicans nor Democrats, wants this language in this bill; it is because both of you are rendering lip service on this question of civil rights."

'Shameful,' Baldwin Says

The amendment's defeat was called a "shameful performance," and "another tragic product of bipartisan Democratic-Republican reaction" by C. B. Baldwin, campaign manager for Henry Wallace.

Mr. Baldwin pointed out that "efforts to secure a teller count to record how each Congressman voted on the amendment was unsuccessfull, because of a shocking evasion of responsibility by the party leadership."

Funds Involved

Funds which would have been restricted by the anti-discrimination amendment were:

An appropriation of $19,842,760 for further development of land-grant colleges, by reimbursement of States for necessary expenditures for vocational rehabilitation of disabled individuals;

An appropriation of $2,480,000 for further endowment of land-grant colleges; $13,865,000 for assistance to States in establishing and maintaining adequate public health services;

An appropriation of 60 million dollars in appropriated funds; and 75 million dollars in contract authorizations for hospital construction—a grand total of $171,177,760.

Alabama Congressman Asks Repeal Of 14th Amendment

WASHINGTON — With crocodile tears in his eyes and his voice quavering, Rep. Sam Hobbs of Alabama, Friday introduced a resolution to repeal the 14th amendment. It interferes with freedom of religion, he declared.

The 14th amendment, ratified shortly after the civil war, guarantees the rights of citizenship to all Americans, and gives them equal protection under the law.

Although Representative Hobbs, who hails from the fourth Alabama Congressional district claims that his proposal is intended only to "restore religious freedom" it was looked on as a move to further disenfranchise Negroes by denying them the rights of citizenship even on paper.

The Alabama Congressman said he entered his bill as a result of the recent Supreme Court decision banning religious instruction in public schools. He said there actually had been two such recent rulings, that "are susceptible to interpretations that may destroy the very life of this nation."

The decisions were based on the 14th amendment which says in part: "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens." Representative Hobbs said this was the section which concerned him. He asserted that it denies people the right to put schools to any use that pleases them, including teaching religion.

Rep. Hobbs was elected to office by less than 15 per cent of the people of voting age in his district. The others were mainly denied the vote by the poll tax system.

NAACP Bunk About 80th Congress Is Feature Of Bulletin

New York, Sept. 23.—The voting record of members of both houses of Congress on civil rights and other issues is published in the current issue of The NAACP Bulletin, the Association's bimonthly organ. The record reveals the vote on seven vital issues in the House of Representatives and on nine in the Senate.

"The record of the 80th Congress," the report asserts, "is a dismal record of failure. Failure to control inflation; failure to provide adequate housing; failure to meet the educational and health needs of the people; failure to enact a single civil rights measure. You are urged to review the record of each of your senators and your representatives. On November 2, remember those who have voted for your interests and those who have voted against you, regardless of party affiliation."

Dixie Plans To Filibuster On Cloture

Southern Democrats Hope To Bar Change In Debate Regulation

Two Catches Now

Arkansas Senator Says Proposal Sure To Bring Talkathon From South

WASHINGTON, Nov. 13.—(AP)—Southern Democrats will filibuster if leaders try to change the Senate debate rules to help push any civil rights proposals through Congress.

Senator McClellan (D), Arkansas, who has taken an active part in such things in the past, made that point clear today.

McClellan told a reporter he has heard that administration lieutenants are thinking of asking the Senate to make its cloture (debate limitation) rule apply to any motion, as well as a legislative bill.

Republicans, who lost Senate control in the election, had promised to try that maneuver.

Cloture is a procedure under which each senator is limited to an hour's talk on any bill or amendment before the Senate.

It could kill the time-consuming oratory by which Dixie senators always in the past have staved off a senator vote on the anti-job discrimination, anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and anti-segregation measures President Truman promised voters he will try to put through Congress.

But under present rules there are two catches in cloture:

1. Two-thirds of those voting have to approve before it can go into effect.

2. It can't be used to stop talk about a motion.

Southern Democrats always start filibustering when a motion is made to bring up a civil rights measure, several of which have been passed by the House in previous Congresses.

Rule changes—which require only a majority vote of the Senate—might wipe out the Dixie advantage on both counts.

So, McClellan said that to protect their rights, the Southerners will have to filibuster against a rule change unless some compromise can be reached in advance.

Emphasizing that he was speaking for himself on the compromise phase, the Arkansas senator said that if an agreement could be reached not to push a measure for establishment of a Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) or any anti-segregation proposals, Dixie senators might agree not to filibuster some other bills.

He mentioned anti-poll-tax and anti-lynching bills in the latter connection.

Stennis Doubts It

But Senator Stennis (D), Mississippi, said he doubts that any such measures could be drawn in constitutional form.

He and Senator Fulbright (D), Arkansas, agreed in separate interviews that there will be a last-ditch fight by the Southerners against FEPC.

Depending on how tough the leadership gets in calling around-the-clock sessions, a Southern filibuster could run into weeks. For practical purposes it would be broken only when physical exhaustion overtook the more than a score of Dixie senators likely to participate.

In the meantime, the Senate probably couldn't dispose of any other business.

So administration leaders may have to choose between a back-down on Mr. Truman's civil rights promises.

THE SENATE CERTAINLY showed up in a curious light Monday when Senator Vandenberg, in ruling on the Southern filibuster against the anti-poll-tax bill, was obliged to admit that "they had not effective cloture rule at all" and, therefore, the Senate was at the mercy of "unlimited debate ad infinitum."

I have always thought that filibustering—in the way that the Southern Dixiecrats are carrying on against the anti-poll tax—is an insult not only to the intelligence of the Senate, but to the people of the United States.

Who wants decisions made in such a stupid way? There is no real discussion on the bill itself. The Southerners just talk to talk. They even read out of books endlessly. Senator Taft, Republican policy leader, had to admit defeat and concede that a vote could not be forced on the anti-poll-tax bill.

Letters to The Times

Failure on Civil Rights

Congress Criticized for Not Adopting Legislation Pledged by Republicans

To the Editor of The New York Times:

The many brief references in the press to the inaction of the Eightieth Congress on civil rights legislation do not expose the abjectness of its surrender on this issue. The failure of the Democratic Administration to implement the recommendations of the President's Committee on Civil Rights was conclusively shown in a letter from former Solicitor General Henry Epstein published on May 9. The adjournment of Congress without enacting a single civil rights measure demonstrates the equal unwillingness of the Republican party to live up to its professed ideals.

The 1944 platform of the Republican party was clear and unequivocal on these issues. It pledged the establishment "of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission." It pledged "immediate submission" of a constitutional amendment to ban the poll tax. It pledged "early enactment" of anti-lynching legislation. It pledged "an immediate Congressional inquiry" into the policy of segregation in the armed forces and "the adoption of corrective legislation."

None of these pledges was kept.

Renewed Promises

When the Republican party won control of both branches of Congress in 1946, its promises were renewed. Moreover, recognizing that passage of a substantial civil rights program was jeopardized by the possibility of a filibuster, Republican leaders announced their intention to amend the Senate rules to eliminate that anachronism. But the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration could agree on no more than a minor amendment which would have curbed only the more extreme abuses of the filibuster device while leaving untouched the requirement of a two-thirds vote to impose cloture. Even this limited recommendation was not called up for a vote between its adoption by the committee on April 3, 1947, and the adjournment of Congress fifteen months later.

When Congress reconvened in 1948, the portents for civil rights legislation were all favorable. This was a Presidential election year. The President's Committee on Civil Rights had issued its monumental report in October, presenting both a reasonable program and a convincing demonstration that its enactment was vitally necessary. Yet nothing was accomplished.

An anti-poll tax bill was passed overwhelmingly by the House of Representatives in 1947, was reported out of the Senate committee, but then died. The bipartisan Ives-Fulton FEPC bill remained bottled up in the House committee to which it was referred, and although reported out by a Senate committee, never reached the floor during 1948. A carefully considered bipartisan anti-lynching bill was reported favorably by both Senate and House committees, but no further action was taken by either chamber. Bills to eliminate segregation in the armed forces, on the railroads, and in the District of Columbia received no consideration whatsoever by the committees to which they were referred. No progress of any importance was made on any of the bills to eliminate the remaining racial barriers to immigration and naturalization.

Anti-Segregation Voted Down

Racism could have been struck an effective blow by eliminating segregation in the armed forces under the revived selective service program. The President's Advisory Commission on Universal Training warned that "segregation or special privilege in any form should have no place in the program. To permit them would nullify the important living lesson in citizenship which such training can give. Nothing could be more tragic for the future attitude of our people, and for the unity of our nation, than a program in which our Federal Government forced our young manhood to live for a period of time in an atmosphere which emphasized or bred class or racial differences." Yet anti-segregation amendments to the Selective Service bill were not even taken seriously. An overwhelming majority of both parties voted them down in both houses. An amendment to prohibit lynching of members of the armed forces was tabled in the Senate by a vote of 61 to 7.

With the cloture rule unchanged and with no attempt to call up any of the pending civil rights bills for a vote early enough in either session to beat a filibuster, the chances of adopting a civil rights program were reduced to a minimum. Four major bills which passed the hurdle of Senate committee action, FEPC, anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, and the cloture resolution itself, were ripe for final Senate action when they were killed by adjournment.

It is true that the procedure of our national legislature is archaic and cumbersome, but it has been shown repeatedly that a majority can accomplish its ends when it is determined to do so. The leaders of the Eightieth Congress never had that determination.

Will Maslow,
Joseph B. Robison,
Commission on Law and Social Action,
American Jewish Congress.
New York, June 22, 1948.

11 in Congress Hit Jimcrow on Panama Jobs

Eleven Congressmen last week protested to President Truman, the United States government's Jimcrow job policy in the Panama Canal Zone.

This policy, known as the silver-gold system sharply differentiates the wages and conditions between U. S. citizens and non-citizen employes. U. S. citizen employes are designated as "gold" and non-citizen workers as "silver." The so-called silver workers are West Indian Negroes, Panamanians, Indians and citizens of the various Latin American countries.

The Congressmen signing the letter were:

Vito Marcantonio (ALP-NY), Leo Isacson (ALP-NY), Adam Clayton Powell (Dem-NY), George G. Sadowsky (Dem-Mich), John A. Blatnik (Dem-Minn), Arthur G. Klien (Dem-NY), Franck R. Havenner (Dem-Cal), Frank Buchanan (Dem-Pa), Walter B. Huber (Dem-Ohio), Helen Gahagan Douglas (Dem-Calif), and Emanuel Celler (Dem-NY).

Negro Group Rips Record Of Congress

Support of Wallace Is Traced to Disgust

Kansas City, June 27 (U.P.)—Support for Henry Wallace among Negro voters is traceable to the Negro's "disgust and despair" with the two major parties, an official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said today.

Walter White, executive secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., brought the 39th annual conference to a close with a blistering attack on the 80th Congress.

"I warn both major political parties that they should pay serious heed to the size and enthusiasm of the (N.A.A.C.P.) groups," White said.

Truman Also Criticized.

White regretted that President Truman still has not issued an executive order to prohibit discrimination in the Federal Government.

He charged that Governor Thomas E. Dewey, Republican standard bearer for 1948, urged passage of a State Antidiscrimination Law in New York in 1945 "after having evaded the issue in 1944 to get past the nominating convention and election."

"It is profoundly to be hoped," White said, "that Mr. Dewey, should he be elected President, will grow in statesmanship, vision, and courage."

White told more than 1,000 delegates that the 80th Congress was dominated by the real-estate lobby, the power lobby, and the Southern rebels.

"If America is cursed with another such Congress during the most crucial period of the world's history which lies before us," White said, "there is little ahead for the survival of what we call, perhaps laughingly, civilization."

MEMO TO CONGRESS: This picture, taken down South, is a reminder to Congress that it's falling down on the job of helping the American people. Girl is drawing water from old-fashioned well in front-yard of a country slum. Action on 75c minimum, on housing, on civil rights, on inflation—all might help, but Congress isn't acting.

GREEN SCORES CONGRESS

AFL's Chief Says He Expects Nothing From Extra Session

KANSAS CITY, Mo., July 26 (AP) —William Green, president of the AFL, said today he had no hope that the Eightieth Congress, in its extra session, would redeem a record of "black reaction."

In a message from Washington to labor's Educational and Political Clubs of Kansas City, he said:

"President Truman has put Congress on the spot."

Mr. Green, in asserting that he despaired of constructive work in the extra session asked these questions:

"Do you for one moment believe that a Congress so interested in the welfare of the workers of the country will suddenly reverse itself and approve action to protect the American people from further inflation?

"Can we expect a Congress so which has gone out of its way to encourage price profiteer-estate lobby to listen * * * to home will now reform itself over-seekers for a real, low-cost housing

"It is conceivable that a Congress so consistently subservient to the real to the home

Program, such as is provided in the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill."

80th Congress' Record Upon Major Legislation

(The Associated Press)

Washington, June 19.—Here's the record of the 80th Congress on major legislation as it strove to adjourn tonight:

DOMESTIC

It Passed These Bills:

The Taft-Hartley labor-management act.

The presidential succession act designating the speaker of the House as successor to the presidency if the president and the vice-president are unable to serve.

The portal-to-portal pay bill, restricting claims for pay from the time a worker reached his place of work until he left it.

A bill freezing social security pay-roll taxes at 1 per cent.

A rent-control ill, diluted to permit rent boosts in many cases and taking controls off completely in others.

An income tax reduction bill.

A bill allowing World War II veterans to cash bonds they received for unused leave time at the time of their discharge.

A bill to admit 205,000 European refugees to the United States in the next two years for permanent residence.

A bill creating a special commission to study the executive branch of the government with a view to effecting economies through consolidations of functions.

It Refused to Pass:

A bill to curb the Communist party.

A bill increasing the legal minimum wage in industry.

Three so-called civil rights bills—to outlaw poll taxes, to curb lynching, and to prevent racial discrimination.

A prepaid government health insurance bill.

An oleomargarine tax repeal bill.

A long-range public housing bill.

A bill to extend social security coverage to several million workers not now covered.

A bill to provide federal financial grants to improve educational systems.

INTERNATIONAL

It Passed:

The foreign-aid program to help European and Asiatic nations to recover economically.

A separate bill for military aid for Greece and Turkey.

A bill for American participation in the international refugee organization.

The Senate ratified peace treaties with Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania. It also passed a resolution advising the president to go ahead and work out agreements with other nations for this country's safety, provided the agreements meet with Senate approval.

A bill extending the reciprocal trade agreements act for one year.

A bill giving legal status for the first time to the "Voice of America" program to acquaint foreign people with the facts about America.

It Refused to Pass:

The St. Lawrence seaway bill:

MILITARY

It Passed:

The armed services unification act.

Authorization for 70-group air force.

It Refused to Pass:

A universal military training bill.

PENDING AS ADJOURNMENT NEARED

A selective service bill to permit the drafting of men 19 through 25.

An appropriation bill to finance the foreign aid program.

VETOES

It overrode vetoes of these bills: Tax reduction, the Taft-Hartley act, a social security bill, a railroad rate bill, a bill shifting the United States employment service from the labor department to the federal security agency, and a bill exempting news vendors from social security taxes.

Civil Rights

The civil rights program looked like Casualty No. 1 of the 80th Congress. With only a week to go before the June 19 target date for adjournment, nothing was happening—in a big way—on bills to outlaw the poll tax, make lynching a federal crime, or set up a Fair Employment Practices Committee to curb discrimination in industry.

Rep. George Bender (R.O.), sponsor of the anti-poll tax bill which passed the House months ago, sent a "Dear Bob" letter to Taft urging action in the Senate. ". . . The Republican party cannot afford to face the country in November without at least one major accomplishment in this Congress in the field of civil rights legislation," Bender wrote.

Afford it or not, the GOP seemed destined to do so. The anti-poll tax was getting little support from top Republicans, who blame their own inaction on the threat of a filibuster by Southern conservative Democrats. But the GOP seemed unwilling to face the issue of limiting debate to pass the bill.

The anti-lynching bill was still in Senate Judiciary Committee, where it has been locked for months. The FEPC bill hadn't been heard from in weeks.

Only half-step towards a civil rights measure was an amendment tacked on to the draft bill by Sen. Langer (R.N.D.). It provides that members of the armed services (totaling just over a million under the draft authorization) won't have to pay voting fees if they come from poll tax states.

MEASURES PASSED OR LOST IN SESSION

A List of the Principal Bills, Domestic and Foreign, on Which Congress Acted

By The Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, June 20—There follows a record of the principal measures which were passed or rejected by the Eightieth Congress:

PASSED

DOMESTIC

The Taft-Hartley Labor-Management Act.

Presidential succession bill, designating the Speaker of the House as next in line for the Presidency behind the Vice President.

Portal-to-portal pay, restricting claims for pay from the time a worker reaches his place of work until he leaves it.

Freezing social security payroll taxes at 1 per cent.

Rent control bill, permitting rent rises in many cases and taking controls off completely in others.

Income tax reduction.

Allowing World War II veterans to cash bonds they received for unused leave time at the time of their discharge.

Admitting 205,000 European refugees to the United States in the next two years for permanent residence.

Creating a special commission to study the executive branch of the government, aimed at effecting economies through consolidations and elimination of overlapping functions.

Raising the pay of 1,330,000 federal employes, with 480,000 postal employes getting $450 a year more and 850,000 other federal workers $330.

Continuing existing farm price supports through 1949 and then putting into effect a new and somewhat lower level of price props.

Continuing the Commodity Credit Corporation, which handles price-support programs and does buying for foreign relief.

Extending the terms of atomic energy commissioners a flat two years.

Authorizing the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to establish a secondary market for G.I. home loan mortgages.

Providing $6,000,000 to aid school districts overburdened by war-swollen populations.

Armed services unification act.

Selective service bill to permit drafting of men 19 through 25.

Authorization for a 70-group air force.

INTERNATIONAL

Foreign aid program (Marshall Plan) to help European and Asiatic countries to recover economically.

Appropriating more than $6,000,000,000 to finance the foreign aid program.

Military aid for Greece and Turkey.

American participation in the International Refugee Organization.

Extending the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act for one year, with some changes.

Giving legal status for the first time to the "Voice of America" program to acquaint foreign peoples with facts about the United States.

Ratified peace treaties with Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania.

Advising the President to work out agreements with other nations for this country's safety, provided the agreements meet Senate approval.

REJECTED

DOMESTIC

Curbing the Communist party.

Increasing the legal minimum wage in industry.

Civil rights bills to outlaw poll taxes; to curb lynching and to prevent racial discrimination.

Prepaid Government health insurance.

Repealing Federal taxes on oleomargarine.

Long-range public housing.

Extending Social Security coverage to several million workers not now covered.

Providing Federal financial grants to improve educational systems.

Giving states the rights to oil reserves in their immediate coastal waters.

Universal military training.

INTERNATIONAL

For a St. Lawrence seaway.

A loan of $65,000,000 for buildings needed for the headquarters of the United Nations.

VETOES OVERRULED

Tax reduction, the Taft-Hartley Act, Social Security benefits, railroad rate agreements, shifting the United States Employment Service from the Labor Department to the Federal Security Agency and exempting news venders from Social Security taxes.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

Ratification of a proposed constitutional amendment limiting the term of the President to two full terms.

WALTER WHITE URGES CONGRESS TO STAND UP FOR CIVIL RIGHTS 2/27/48

Indianapolis, Ind., Feb. 26--Calling upon the members of Congress of both parties to end their silence on the issue of civil rights, Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, voiced the disapproval of millions of Americans at the inactivity of Congress, at the NAACP Midwest Regional Conference, held here last weekend.

Press Service of The N.A.A.C.P. New York N. Y. Fri. 2-27-48

Mr. White denounced the recent attacks of Congressmen and southern governors on President Truman's civil rights message to Congress. "What is going on today is the attempted lynching not of an individual but of the President of the United States," Mr. White declared. "In lynching him for proposing machinery to obliterate evils like lynching and the poll tax, every citizen of the United States and democracy itself are being lynched." The executive secretary asked Senators and Congressmen from the border and northern states to form a bi-partisan coalition to make vocal the abhorrence of the overwhelming majority of the American people for such bestial crimes as lynching, disfranchisement, job discrimination and bigotry. "If you continue to do nothing," Mr. White warned, "do not expect us to return you to Congress, for you will have failed your country in its hour of direct crisis."

The Midwest Regional Conference at which Mr. White spoke was attended by 150 delegates from NAACP branches in Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

Negro Council Assails GOP

Mon. PM New York, N. Y.

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Edgar G. Brown of Washington, chairman and director of the council, said the declaration was contained in a resolution to be sent to Congressional leaders. Brown said the petition was signed by 200,000 persons throughout the nation.

Included in the petition is a demand for the ouster of Rep. John E. Rankin (D., Miss.) 6-14-48

The petition was addressed to Rep. Joseph W. Martin, Jr. (R., Mass.), Speaker of the House, and Sen. Robert A. Taft (R., Ohio), chairman of the Republican Senate Majority Committee. Mon

The petition says:

"On behalf of the 200,000 signers of the National Negro Council's civil rights petition addressed to you, we are constrained to urge again, one week before the scheduled adjournment of Congress, immediate passage by the House and Senate of these long-promised civil rights measures in the Republican 1944 party platform." 6-14-48

FOR A 2-WEEK RUSH CONGRESS ALIGNS

The Times New York, N.Y.

Republican Leaders Hope to Achieve Drive Members to Adjournment June 19

By ROBERT F. WHITNEY

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, June 6—Start ing tomorrow, Republican leaders will to the whip for the driving finish they hope will bring Congress to adjournment June 19—two working weeks hence.

With so many bills awaiting either action or abandonment, it is sure to be a stirring, fighting and galling finale to the election year session. Strenuous sittings into the night and filibusters, plus the fact that the lawmakers are politically minded and some of them Presidential or Vice Presidential aspirants, may make new wounds or open old ones.

But for both parties, there are

Vote Billions for War; Bar Civil Rights Bills

Daily Worker New York, N. Y. Mon. 4-19-48

SENATE SET TO BLOCK DEBATE ON POLLTAX AND FEPC

(Each Monday, beginning today, the Daily Worker will bring its readers a weekly survey of events in Washington with a preview of what's to come, prepared by our Washington Bureau. Readers are invited to submit questions on legislative matters for answers in these columns.)

By Rob F. Hall

WASHINGTON, April 18. —Biggest news in Washington last week was that Congress voted $3.2 billion for new war planes while GOP and Democratic leaders were deciding to drop civil rights legislation. The Senate Republican Policy Committee has ruled that the anti-poll tax bill, which only needs Senate approval to become law will not get to the floor this session.

This also goes for FEPC which has the okay of the Senate Judiciary Committee. It is still considered possible but not likely that the GOP chieftains will permit a vote on the anti-lynch bill in the Senate.

The Senate Judiciary committee voted six to two last Monday to approve the plan of Southern states to build a regional college for Negroes. This is the Dixie Demagogue scheme to get around the Supreme Court ruling that Negroes must be granted equal educational facilities with whites. Supported by three Democrats and three Republicans, it next goes to the Senate floor for a vote. Ratification by Congress necessary for all agreements entered into between the states.

Rep. Hartley

Sen. Bridges

Daily Worker

The 343-3 vote for a three billion dollar airforce came after House leaders argued hysterically that war with the Soviet Union was inevitable. The three members who voted no were Vito Marcantonio, Leo Isacson and Adam C. Powell.

AIR LOBBY

During this same week, ironically, financial reports filed with the House clerk by lobbyists revealed that the Aircraft Industries Association spent $5,028 in the period immediately preceding the vote. This organization of big aircraft manufacturers spent $350 for cocktail parties for Congressmen, according to the material on file. It also bought tickets for 18 members of Congress for dinners given for the President's Air Policy Commission and the Congressional Air Policy board where the drive for a 70-group air force was pushed.

The Senate Armed Services is expected to rush to the floor by Friday its bill for universal military training and selective service, according to Chairman Chan Gurney (R-SD). The Senate group held up its report for more information from Defense Secretary James Forrestal, who has contended for a 55-group airforce at this time. New York, N.Y.

The Senate appropriations committee hasn't decided between the House decision for a 70-group force or the Administration program of 55 groups,

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HEARING ON DRAFT

The House Armed Services Committee continued open hearings on the Administration draft proposals and heard some strong objections to UMT from church groups and the NAACP. Chairman Walter Andrews (R-NY) said his committee supports a proposal to require men 18 through 29 to register, despite Forrestal's plea to make the bracket from 18 through 44.

Denunciation of Communists and the Soviet Union, which marked almost all the discus-

sions on war preparations, also played a big part in the hearings of the Brown subcommittee of the House Committee on Expenditures in Executive Departments. Under the leadership of Rep. Clarence Brown (R-O), a political lieutenant of Taft, the subcommittee was investigating the failure of the Central Intelligence Agency to tip off the State Department as to the imminence of its importance. But the mation" he mentioned revolution in Bogota.

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37

WALTER WHITE URGES CONGRESS TO STAND UP FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

2/27/48

Indianapolis, Ind., Feb. 26--Calling upon the members of Congress of both parties to end their silence on the issue of civil rights, Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, voiced the disapproval of millions of Americans at the inactivity of Congress, at the NAACP Midwest Regional Conference, held here last weekend.

Press Service of The N.A.A.C.P. New York N. Y. Fri. 2-27-48

Mr. White denounced the recent attacks of Congressmen and southern governors on President Truman's civil rights message to Congress. "What is going on today is the attempted lynching not of an individual but of the President of the United States," Mr. White declared. "In lynching him for proposing machinery to obliterate evils like lynching and the poll tax, every citizen of the United States and democracy itself are being lynched." The executive secretary asked Senators and Congressmen from the border and northern states to form a bi-partisan coalition to make vocal the abhorrence of the overwhelming majority of the American people for such bestial crimes as lynching, disfranchisement, job discrimination and bigotry. "If you continue to do nothing," Mr. White warned, "do not expect us to return you to Congress, for you will have failed your country in its hour of direct crisis."

The Midwest Regional Conference at which Mr. White spoke was attended by 150 delegates from NAACP branches in Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

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BY ROBERT F. WHITNEY

healing agents awaiting in the near future—the national political conventions which are the reason for the early adjournment goal.

GOP Leadership Split

The week begins under the star of a split in the Republican leadership over the issue of bipartisan foreign policy and the implimentation of that policy's core of fighting Communist expansion abroad with American economic, and, in some cases, military assistance.

The House, on Friday night, confirming its Appropriations Committee, cut 26 per cent from funds authorized by Congress two months ago to carry out the European Recovery Program and other foreign assistance. Mon.

This move has aroused Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Republican, of Michigan, who, as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, is the key figure of the bi-partisan policy. Mr. Vandenberg, who guided the authorizing bill through the Senate, is reported "fighting mad" over the House action.

Mr. Vandenberg has asked Senator Styles Bridges, of New Hampshire, chairman of the Appropriations Committee, that he appear in person before the group in an effort to undo what he considers the House's bad decision. So, restoration of the funds will be sought strenuously in the Senate and in the inevitable conference committee which will make the final decision 6-7-48

The floor programs of the two Houses for this week are:

SENATE

The only measure scheduled is the selective draft bill on which debate began last week. This debate will be interrupted whenever conference reports are ready. The principal measures now in conference are the appropriations bills. The Times

HOUSE

Monday — Will start with District of Columbia measures and then go on the Fellowes' Bill to admit 200,000 displaced persons to the country.

Tuesday — Complete action on private and consent calendar measures. New York, N.Y.

Wednesday — The Independent Offices Appropriations bill and the measure to continue farm price supports will be brought up.

During the remainder of the week the House hopes to make decisions on the Selective Service bill, the bill to extend Social Security coverage, revision of the Internal Revenue code and on District of Columbia home rule.

Interruptions Are Likely

Like the Senate, the House will be always ready to interrupt its scheduled program for the votes on conference reports, which round out legislative action and send bills to the President. Mon.

How long Senate consideration of the draft bill will take this week is a guess. Senator Chan Gurney of South Dakota, chairman of the Armed Services Committee, believes that Wednesday will see a vote. 6-7-48

One threat to this bill is the amendment of Senator William Langer, Republican, of North Dakota, which would end race segregation in the armed services. This proposal may cause a filibuster by Southern Democrats. If so, Republican leaders have indicated an attempt to apply closure to curb debate.

As the draft issue reached a decision, the National Council Against Conscription released another "anti" statement saying that passage of the bill "would be a provocative act that might lead to war."

The signers, who included Albert Einstein, Joy E. Morgan, editor of the National Education Association's Journal; Dr. A. J. Carlson, University of Chicago, scientist, and Dr. George C. Buttrick, pastor of New York City's Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, said that America needs "an adequate program for peace" instead of a draft program.

Another proposed law came under public attack today. This was the displaced persons bill adopted by the Senate last week. Its critic was Dean Earl C. Harrison of Philadelphia, chairman of the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons. The Times

Mr. Harrison described the Senate's bill as a "booby trap for Americans and for the DP's. "He called for passage, instead, of the Fellowes' bill which the Senate takes up this week.

"What was perpetrated in the Senate last Wednesday night in the guise of a DP bill is a sorry mess," he said. "It has been deliberately designed to exclude DP's, not admit them.

"Among other things, it discriminates on grounds of religion, nationality and occupation. It even contains a special provision to admit Volksdeutche, the nortorious Nazi Fifth Column. The bill's racist character makes all decent Americans hang their heads in shame. New York, N.Y.

"To make double certain that few if any victims of Nazi oppression can enter, an amendment to change the date of eligibility from Dec. 22, 1945, to April 21, 1947, was defeated.

"This was done with the full knowledge that most of the Jews arrived in the occupied zones after the December, 1945 date. Thus less than 10,000 Jewish DP's out of a total of 1,000,000 can qualify for admission." Mon.

One measure which needs action by this Saturday, instead of the adjournment date, is the extension of the Reciprocal Trade Treaties Act. The Senate Finance Committee hopes to report a measure early in the week extending the act for one year. 6-7-48

The House has passed an extension bill with amendments which would give to Congress a veto over some tariff cuts. The Administration asked for a three-year extension "as is." Spokesmen have described the House bill as worse than no extension.

Among bills that appeared to be in danger of being left up the track at the finish were extension of Social Security coverage, Federal aid to education, civil rights legislation, the Mundt-Nixon bill to curb domestic communism, a long-range farm program, oleomargarine tax repeal, tax revision (technical changes in the laws) and the raise for Federal employes.

Two-Year-Old Girl Charms Weary Members of House

The Post Washington, D.C. June 22-48

JAMEILLE JONES

Song and Tears Applauded

Little Jameille Winfield had something to tell the kids on the block about yesterday.

Probably she didn't say much, though, for she's only 2, and winning the affection and plaudits of a chamberful of Congressmen is pretty small potatoes to a little girl of 2.

But for the record, this is what happened to Jameille, daughter of Mrs. Helen Winfield, 3318 Sherman ave. nw.

It was shortly after midnight Saturday and the House of Representatives was going into the final wearying hours of its last session. The galleries were jammed.

Mrs. Winfield, who's been serving sandwiches and coffee to Congressmen in the Republican cloakroom, House side, for 12 years, welcomed her vivacious daughter—who'd arrived with her grandmother for her first visit to the Capitol. So did several Congressmen. They'd been hearing about Jameille since her baby days. They'd been hearing about Jameille since her baby days. Sun.

The little girl, not one to be impressed by leaders of Government, began to sing and to chatter and Jameille is good at both.

Some one suggested she be taken out on the floor—the House was then in recess. Jameille, a good sport, went. 6-22-48

Up behind the mike, way too tall for the 50-pound mite, the little girl began to sing . . . "frere jacque, frere jacque" . . . and there she stopped, scared into silence for the first time in her young life.

"I want to go back to my mother," she cried. And the men of affairs smiled and applauded.

The 80th Congress, Best Since the 79th

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky. 6-27-48

A STARTLING appraisal of the Eighteth Congress by the magazine *Fortune* is quoted in a dispatch on the opposite page today. The Eighteth Congress is the best since the First, according to *Fortune*. This remarkable judgment was arrived at, of course, before the House passed the GEARHART Bill, designed to doom the American reciprocal trade policy. We assume this action may have given *Fortune* pause. It is true that the Senate has not yet acted on the measure, and so Congress' record on it is not complete. Nevertheless, no Congress in which such a thing could happen as passage of the GEARHART Bill in either house at a time like the present could truthfully be called a good Congress.

But even if the GEARHART Bill is left aside, the record of the Eighteth Congress is pretty sorry. It convened in January, 1947, with tax reduction its obsession. The very first bill introduced in the House was a tax reduction bill. Mind you, this was before anyone had any idea what total appropriations would be, or what new obligations might arise in an uneasy and uncertain world. Was it prudent to put tax reduction first? It wasn't, but the Republican Congress wasted weeks on the subject last year and passed two successive tax reduction bills. President TRUMAN successfully vetoed both, thanks to the Democrats. The tax reduction effort was renewed this year and won at last. But it was a dubious victory. Most people think the rates will have to be raised after the election.

Fortune confesses that the Eightieth Congress erred when it passed the tariff-raising, import quota wool bill. President TRUMAN managed to stop this outrage by veto. But wasn't the measure an indication of the philosophy which has largely ruled this Congress and finally plumbed the depths of reaction with the House vote against reciprocal trade? The Eightieth Congress has granted exemption from the anti-trust laws to the transportation industry. The House has taken a damaging whack at T.V.A. and public power. The House has obliged the oil lobby and over-ruled the Supreme Court by abandoning Federal claims to the precious tideland oil reserves. The House has shown little interest in the Federal aid to education and long-range housing program. Neither branch has done anything about extending social security or raising the minimum wage. Health insurance has not even been given a prayer. A weak bill on stream pollution emerged, but even it was allowed to die. Congress passed a law unifying the armed services, but the law has proved ineffective. Yet not even an ineffective selective service or U.M.T. law has been passed, though the subjects have been haggled over endlessly. The Voice of America was hamstrung in the budget adopted last year. Proposals to admit D.P.s, as *Fortune* acknowledges, have had tedious going in spite of the desperate urgency of the case. The Negro voters have been given a dizzy runaround on civil rights legislation. Housewives may possibly get tax-free oleo, but will owe no thanks to the Republican leadership. The oleo bill had to be snatched from a stubborn House committee by the petition method. The Eightieth Congress has, as *Fortune* notes, beaming proudly, set up a commission on reorganization of the executive branch. However, Congress' own widely proclaimed reorganization has proved at least half phony.

There are items on the credit side, of course—chiefly, the TAFT-HARTLEY Act, the European Recovery Program (with Russia deserving credit for a powerful assist) and Greek-Turkish Aid (after inexcusable delay). No Congress is perfect. Not even the First was. We are not going to say that the present Congress is absolutely the worst of the eighty. But if it is the second best, then either HARDING, COOLIDGE or HOOVER must stand right next to GEORGE WASHINGTON.

President Moves On Jim Crow

"Fair Employment Board" Set Up In Civil Service

By Louis Lautier
For NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON, D. C. — President Truman late Monday afternoon set up a fair employment practice system to prevent race or religious

PRESIDENT TRUMAN

discrimination in federal employment, and at the same time issued an executive order establishing a committee on "equality of treatment and opportunity" in the armed services.

The regulations prescribed by the President for fair employment practices within the government provide for the establishment of a "fair employment board" in the Civil Service Commission.

This board would have authority to review decisions made by the heads of departments and in cases where its recommendations to heads of departments are not carried out the board is empowered to report such cases to the President.

ACTION ON BASIS OF MERIT ALONE

The President's order also directs appointing officers in the executive departments to take appropriate steps to insure that all personnel actions are taken on the basis of merit and without distinction as to race or religion.

The head of each agency is made "personally responsible for an effective program to insure that fair employment policies are fully observed" in his agency.

President Truman ordered each agency head to designate a fair employment officer, who shall be given "full operating responsibility, under the immediate supervision of the department head, for carrying out the fair employment policy" stated in the executive order.

The duties of the fair employment officer include the appraisal of personnel actions of his agency to determine their conformity to the executive order, the receipt of complaints or appeals concerning personnel actions where race or religious discrimination is alleged and to take necessary corrective or disciplinary action in conformity with his authority.

FINDINGS SUBJECT TO APPEAL

The findings or actions of the fair employment officer are subject to appeal to the head of the agency and the decision of the head of the agency may be appealed to the fair employment board of the Civil Service Commission.

As President and commander-in-chief of the armed services, Mr. Truman issued a second executive order in which he stated the policy of "equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin."

"This policy shall be put into effect as rapidly as possible, having due regard to the time required to effectuate any necessary changes without impairing efficiency or morale."

ORDERS COMMITTEE ON EQUALITY ESTABLISHED

He ordered the establishment of the committee on equality of treatment to be made up of seven members whom he will name later.

This committee is authorized upon its appointment, to examine into rules, procedures and practices of the armed services and make recommendations to the President and the Secretaries of Defense, Army, Navy and Air.

The executive order empowers it to summon witnesses from the armed services or the executive departments and agencies and order the production of documents.

President Truman declared that it "is essential that there be maintained in the armed services of the United States the highest standards of democracy, with full equality of treatment and opportunity for all who serve in our country's defense."

URGES CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION IN CONGRESS

The President acted on the eve of his appearance before the special session of Congress Tuesday to deliver a message in which he urged enactment of legislation to protect and extend civil rights in this country.

He urged upon the Congress the 10-point civil rights program he recommended Feb. 2, last "to protect and extend basic civil rights of citizenship and human liberty."

A number of bills to carry out his recommendations, he said, have been introduced in the Congress. "Many of them," he added, "have already received careful consideration by congressional committees. Only one bill however, has been enacted, a bill relating to the rights of Americans of Japanese origin.

"I believe that it is necessary to enact the laws I have recommended in order to make the guarantees of the Constitution real and vital. I believe they are necessary to carry out American ideals of liberty and justice for all."

ASKED CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION

Mr. Truman on Feb. 2 asked Congress for legislation establishing a permanent commission on civil rights, a joint congressional committee on civil rights, and a civil rights division in the Justice Department.

Other legislation requested included measures to strengthen existing federal civil rights statutes, a federal anti-lynching law, more adequate protection of the right to vote, establishment of a fair employment practice commission, and prohibition against racial discrimination in interstate travel.

The House has passed an anti-poll tax bill, but has not acted on either anti-lynching or FEPC.

The Senate has held hearings on anti-poll tax, anti-lynching and anti-discrimination in employment legislation, and bills on each of these subjects are pending on the Senate calendar and ready for action at this session.

Anti-Poll Tax Bill Is Dumped By Congress

Dixie Lawmakers Win First Round In Bout On Civil Rights Laws

Whole Plan Dies

GOP Turns To Study Anti-Inflation Plans; Change Of Rules Eyed

WASHINGTON—(AP)—An easy-going Southern filibuster killed the anti-poll tax bill Wednesday for this session of Congress.

A 69 to 16 roll call vote in the Senate made it official. Earlier, Republican senators had decided to abandon their effort to pass the bill. This was the fifth day of the debate and pressure was mounting for adjournment.

Down the drain with the poll tax measure went the rest of President Truman's civil rights proposals. They weren't even mentioned as the Republicans decided to concentrate on their own anti-inflation legislation and one or two other matters before closing up shop for the year.

Technically, the decisive Senate vote came on a motion to adjourn instead of recess Wednesday night. Approval of the motion had the effect of clearing the stage of the poll tax fight.

The motion to adjourn was opposed by Senator Barkley, of Kentucky, Democratic floor leader and nominee for vice president. He said it "puts us right back where we were last year," and added that "the Senate cannot forever go on and admit to the American people that it is impossible to function."

16 Are Approved

Republicans and Southern Democrats, however, lined up for the motion and the administration could muster only 16 votes in opposition.

The Southerners' victory may prove only temporary, however. The Republican senators, meeting in a fog conference, committed themselves to an effort to change the rules at the start of the next session so as to make it easier to break filibusters.

Under their plan, the cloture rule by means of which two-third of the Senate can limit debate, would be made applicable to every phase of parliamentary action—to motions as well as to debate on actual legislation.

Senator Vandenberg (R), Michigan, the presiding officer, reaffirmed Tuesday that the rule can't be applied to motions as it stands. The Southerns have taken full adavntage of that loophole. At no time during the last week's proceedings has the debate been upon the bill itself. Rather, it has been pegged to a motion to take up the bill, or to the appeal which Senator Taft (R), Ohio, made against Vandenberg's parliamentary ruling.

Senator Millikin, of Colorado, chairman of the Republican senators conference, said after Wednesday's closed-door session that the fight to pass the poll tax bill at this session was "futile." The House approved the bill months ago. It would outlaw collection of the poll tax requisite for voting in federal elections. Seven Southern states now have the tax.

Millikin said there was some discussion at the meeting of presenting the anti-poll tax issue in the form of a proposed constitutional amendment rather than as legislation. The Southerners have indicated they would not oppose such an approach although they resent the anti-poll tax bill as an unconstitutional invasion of states' rights. Millikin reported, however, that no attempt would be made by his side at this time to put across a constitutional amendment.

REPUBLICANS MAY TRY ANTI-POLL TAX WEDGE

Southern Senators Study Plans For Blocking Action

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, July 26.—Indications were growing Monday night that the Republican leadership in the Senate had just about decided to use the AntiPoll Tax Bill in its effort to get a civil rights measure through the special session that opened Monday.

Although the Republicans made no official statement of their plans after their Monday morning strategy meeting it was understood that the majority favored making the test on the AntiPoll Tax Bill. The measure was said to be favored as it has passed the House and needs only Senate approval to become law.

There was a feeling, also, that the AntiLynching Bill reported out of the committee by Senator Eastland (D., Miss.) and President Truman says in his message to Congress Tuesday it was reported, felt that they could make no definite plans until against the Republicans make a move and take at least two days to deliver.

Also what Senator Stewart (D., Tenn.), it likely will lead to conclusions on what steps they will take to prevent the civil off the Southern filibuster if and when they call up the Most of the Southern senators. He was reAntiPoll Tax Bill.

July 26 Set For Congress To Come Back

Truman Hurls Challenge At Republicans; Has Load Of Wishes Ready

GOP Raps Step

Some Democrats Predict Little Will Be Done; To Shape Campaign

WASHINGTON —(AP)— With a pointed challenge for action in "the public interest" President Truman Thursday formally called Congress back for a special Summer session.

Back in the White House where he hopes to stay four more years, the President told the lawmakers to assemble July 26—a week from next Monday.

Republicans slammed at the special session call as "cheap politics," "sheer desperation," and a "trick." Some—but by no means all—of the Democratic legislators hailed Mr. Truman's decision as a constructive move. Others shook their heads and predicted little will be accomplished.

The President has a dray-load of legislative requests ready to dump at the capitol door. He reeled off a dozen of them in his speech accepting the Democratic presidential nomination at Philadelphia early Thursday.

Practically all are crammed with controversy and double-dipped in dissension: Civil rights, price controls, housing, federal aid to schools, broadened social security, a boost in the statutory minimum wage, an "adequate and decent" revision of the law permitting the entry of displaced persons from Europe.

May Bring Fight

His call for more public power could set off the fight over "valley projects" modeled on the Tennessee Valley Authority. There were possibilities for a sharp difference of opinion over a national health program, particularly if it included plans for compulsory pre-paid health insurance.

Whether any, all or none of the President's broad recommendations will be written into law could not be forecast. But one thing was very clear: The extraordinary session is certain to mold the shape of this year's presidential campaign.

Mr. Truman told the sweating convention delegates who nominated him that the test will be "what that worst 80th Congress does in this special session." The people, he said, will make their decision not by words, not by the party platform, but "on the record as it has been written."

From a political viewpoint, the special session could be regarded as a windfall for the financially hard-pressed Democratic National Committee. Messages from the President to Congress attract nationwide interest and can focus the issues perhaps more sharply than a series of cross-country speeches. And—important to the national committee—it doesn't cost anything to send messages from the White House.

Two Sides To It

There are two sides to the special session drum, of course. The President's political foes can thump it just as loudly from their side as the President can from his. And there is always the chance that Congress will pass a law the President doesn't want, and make it stick over his veto.

Senator Alben Barkley, the President's running mate, praised the decision to call Congress back as "a courageous and proper thing to do." In the closing days of the regular session, however, the Kentuckian had expressed the belief that a special session would be futile.

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Right at the top of that program is the civil rights issue. Over the hoarse and furious objections of Southern delegates, a majority at the Democratic Convention amended the party platform to spell out a declaration against racial or religious discrimination and advocate legislation to guarantee "these basic and fundamental rights."

The instant that such racial legislation is brought up in the Senate, southern states-righters will be ready to do battle. Their weapon will be the filibuster—talk and talk and still more talk, designed to kill the bill.

Mr. Truman thinks he has the answer to that: Application of the cloture rule which limits debate if two-thirds of the members consent. He said the cloture rule could have been applied in the regular session if the Republicans had really wanted to pass civil rights legislation.

July 26 Set For Congress To Come Back

Truman Hurls Challenge At Republicans; Has Load Of Wishes Ready

GOP Raps Step

Some Democrats Predict Little Will Be Done; To Shape Campaign

WASHINGTON —(AP)— With a pointed challenge for action in "the public interest" President Truman Thursday formally called Congress back for a special Summer session.

Back in the White House where he hopes to stay four more years, the President told the lawmakers to assemble July 26—a week from next Monday.

Republicans slammed at the special session call as "cheap politics," "sheer desperation," and a "trick." Some—but by no means all—of the Democratic legislators hailed Mr. Truman's decision as a constructive move. Others shook their heads and predicted little will be accomplished.

The President has a dray-load of legislative requests ready to dump at the capitol door. He reeled off a dozen of them in his speech accepting the Democratic presidential nomination at Philadelphia early Thursday.

Practically all are crammed with controversy and double-dipped in dissension: Civil rights, price controls, housing, federal aid to schools, broadened social security, a boost in the statutory minimum wage, an "adequate and decent" revision of the law permitting the entry of displaced persons from Europe.

May Bring Fight

His call for more public power could set off the fight over "valley projects" modeled on the Tennessee Valley Authority. There were possibilities for a sharp difference of opinion over a national health program, particularly if it included plans for compulsory pre-paid health insurance.

Whether any, all or none of the President's broad recommendations will be written into law could not be forecast. But one thing was very clear: The extraordinary session is certain to mold the shape of this year's presidential campaign.

Mr. Truman told the sweating convention delegates who nominated him that the test will be "what that worst 80th Congress does in this special session." The people, he said, will make their decision not by words, not by the party platform, but "on the record as it has been written."

From a political viewpoint, the special session could be regarded as a windfall for the financially hard-pressed Democratic National Committee. Messages from the President to Congress attract nationwide interest and can focus the issues perhaps more sharply than a series of cross-country speeches. And—important to the national committee—it doesn't cost anything to send messages from the White House.

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Stokes

Mr. Truman's Generalship

WASHINGTON—As well as putting Republicans on the spot by calling Congress into special session a few days hence, President Truman aimed also at certain results within his own party by the coup he announced so dramatically from the platform of the convention.

This bold stroke in his acceptance speech, which aroused the delegates and the galleries to the only real spontaneous outburst of enthusiasm seen at either Republican or Democratic conventions, has these other designs:

1—To unite along the battle front of Congress in Washington during the campaign the labor and liberal leadership which was hesitant, where not actually reluctant, to go along enthusiastically and wholeheartedly for his renomination.

They must get into this fight, shoulder to shoulder with President Truman, because he has sounded the call for a fight for measures which are demanded by their rank and file. It will force them, of necessity, to his side.

2—To reveal, so that all may see, that it is from the same Southerners who so resisted his nomination that Republicans continually draw allies in Congress to check-mate the Truman program as they did the Roosevelt program before.

* * *

CONVERSELY, the drawing of issues in a special session of Congress will throw in bold relief those Democrats in Congress from the South who have progressive inclinations on economic and social welfare measure so that the people of the South can separate these from the state rights bitter-enders.

The President is keenly aware of this difference in the South and was talking over the heads of the bolting Southern conservative leaders to the people in his acceptance speech.

His appeal for a united party was a refreshing contrast to the shabby performance some time before when the Mississippi delegation and half of the Alabama delegation walked out of the convention in protest over the civil rights program.

Republicans, by their omissions in the 80th Congress, permitted President Truman to choose the battlefield for this campaign, which is the Republican Congress, and there is always some strategical advantage in that. They left themselves wide open when they came here at their convention and blithely promised in their platform to do certain things that they had refused to do in Congress on the eve of the convention, so that the contrast was most dramatic by this unfortunate timing. The President revealed himself as a scrapper. He lifted the pall of defeatism and gave notice that he will challenge the Republicans every step of the way between now and the November elections.

Here, too, the convention backed him up by substituting a forthright civil rights plank for the compromise submitted by the resolutions committee, and by repudiating by an overwhelming vote the mealy-mouthed state rights plank sponsored by the Southerners.

By his insistence on his nomination and by his bold speech to the convention at its end, the President capitalized this effectively in his straight-from-the-shoulder housing talk to the convention.

* * *

IT IS CLEAR now that the President's strategy for the campaign is to leave the generally discredited bolting Southerners to their own devices for the duration of the campaign, confident that a majority of the people in the South will vote Democratic as usual, and concentrate on the big Eastern and Northern strongholds essential to victory.

That explains that appeal to labor by advocacy of outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, in which the convention backed him in its platform, and the appeal to minority groups so powerful as a balance of power in the East and North through his civil rights program.

DIXIECRATS PLOT FILIBUSTER

WASHINGTON—Southern Democrats announced they are "ready" to fight the anti-poll tax bill which Republican leaders announced will be the first new order of business in the Senate.

Republican leaders of oth houses said the House-approved anti-poll tax measure will be brought up this week "in order that there may be a proper opportunity for all to vote in the November election."

Their decision came after President Truman delierately played down racial rights proposals in his message to Congress, urging them to concentrate instead on anti-inflation and housing bills.

Senator Russell (D. Ga.) leader of the Southern group which opposes all of Mr. Truman's racial rights proposals, said "no noe is surprised" at the GOP decision.

"We'll fight them to the finish," he said.

Senator McClellan (D., Ark.) added "There'll be no Appomattox this time, no surrender. They'll have to fight until they overpower us."

SOUTHERN TECHNIQUES

The Dixie Democrats are planning an adjournment drive, or to filibuster if necessary to defeat the poll-tax bill. Senator Jonhson (D., S.C.) said he would move to adjourn the special session July 31, but this move is not likely to succeed.

11-Point Plan For Congress

By WILLARD SHELTON
STAR Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, July 26—President Truman late today outlined an 11-point program headed by anti-inflation controls which he will recommend tomorrow to the special session of Congress.

As southern Democrats threatened a filibuster against civil rights bills and Republicans generally reserved comment, the President told his Congressional leaders at a White House conference that his message would place particular emphasis on an administration bill to control prices.

The President will deliver his message in person at 12:30 p. m., EDST before a joint session of the Congress which he has repeatedly called the "worst" except one in American history. His message will be broadcast over all networks.

Other Points Listed

The other 10 points Truman will recommend to Congress, according to a "scorecard" given reporters by White House Press Secretary Charles G. Ross, are:

¶ The Taft-Ellender-Wagner long range housing bill.

¶ Federal aid to education.

¶ An increase in the minimum wage from 40 to 75 cents an hour.

¶ Expansion of the Sociay Security system to increase coverage and benefits.

¶ A civil rights program covering anti-poll tax and anti-lynch bills.

¶ Revision of the displaced persons act to increase admissions from 202,000 persons in two years to 404,000 in four years, and to eliminate what Truman has called "anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic" restrictions.

UN Loan Sought

¶ Approval of a $65,000,000 loan to the United Nations for erection of New York Headquarters.

¶ Senate ratification of the international wheat agreement—now virtually lapsed by British withdrawal following earlier failure of the Senate to approve American adherence.

¶ Restoration of $56,000,000 in funds previously cut from appropriation bills for power and reclamation projects, including $4,000,000 for a steam generating plant for the TVA.

Their omission from the "score card" seemed to indicate that President Truman would not repeat his bid for a national health program or ask for repeal of the Taft-Hartley labor act, a plank in the new Democratic platform.

Ross' "score card" carefully pointed out the status of the bills on which the President would ask action. It showed, for example, that both the housing and education bills already had passed the Senate and were pending in the House and that committee hearings had been held on other meaures.

Details Not Given

Ross did not give the details on the anti-inflation program Truman will recommend, but the "score-card" said that hearings were held on the issues earlier in the 80th Congress.

This indicated that the bulk of the President's proposals tomorrow already had been covered in earlier recommendations. Some reports indicate, however, that Truman may now ask for immediate power, to ration meat and other authority, rather than "stand-by" scarce and high priced commodities.

As Congress convened at noon today, everything was sweetness and light in the 12-minute session on the Senate side, where 65 of the 96 Senators showed up, but political debate erupted almost at once among the 310 of the 435 Representatives who answered the House roll call.

Acting Democratic floor leader John W. McCormack (Mass.) touched off the debate by saying that "something must be done" to combat inflation and the housing shortage.

Wrecking Charged

Republican Floor Leader Charles A. Halleck (Ind.) promptly inquired whether McCormack was telling the House what the President would say tomorrow, and Rep. George H. Bender (R., O.) charged that 16 years of Democratic administratiton had won a war, lost the peace and "wrecked" the national economy.

Rep. Estes Kefauver (D., Tenn.) introduced a bill to start the TVA steam plant which was approved by the Senate, but knocked out by the House in the regular session, and Rep. Frederick C. Smith (R., O.) said he would move to adjourn immediately after the President's message.

The session, Smith said, "is a political move, pure and simple."

Watchful Waiting

Republican leaders nevertheless maintained an attitude of watchful waiting after two meetings. House Speaker Joseph Martin (Mass.) said that "like the boys at Bunker Hill, who are not going to fire until we see the whites of their eyes," meaning Truman's message.

Privately, some Republicans admit that the T-E-W housing bill may be passed. About 150 signatures already have been collected on a petition to force the bill to the House floor without Rules Committee approval, and one GOP spokesman indicated that the Republicans would call the measure up if the petition approaches the 217 signatures needed to force a vote.

Two Executive Orders Issued

Says There Shall Be Equality in Services

SETS UP 2 BOARDS

FEPC Created for All Federal Departments

WASHINGTON

President Truman on Monday issued two Executive Orders, one seeking an end of jim crow in the Armed Services, the other seeking the end of discrimination in Federal employment.

The first directive regarding the Armed Services, said in part:

"It is hereby declared to be the policy of the President that there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the Armed Services, without regard to race, color, religion or national origin.

Put Into Effect Rapidly

"1. This policy shall be put into effect as rapidly as possible, having due regard to the time element required to effectuate any necessary changes without impairing efficiency or morale.

"2. There shall be created in the national military establishment an advisory committee to be known as the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services. It shall be composed of seven members to be designated by the President.

Will Make Recommendation

"3. The committee is authorized on behalf of the President to examine into the rules, procedures and practices of the Armed Services in order to determine in what respect such rules, procedures and practices may be altered and improved with a view to carrying out the policies of this order.

"The committee shall confer and advise with the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of the Army, the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of the Air Force and shall make such recommendations to the President and to such secretaries as in the judgement of the committee will effectuate the policy hereof."

Merit to Govern Jobs

Mr. Truman's order governing fair employment practices within the Federal establishment, in part, follows:

"... all personnel actions taken by the Federal Government shall be based solely on merit and fitness and such officers are authorized an ddirected to take appropriate steps to assure that in all such actions there shall be no discrimination because of race, color, religion or national origin.

"2. The heads of each department in the executive branch of the government shall be personally responsible for an effective program to insure that fair employment policies are fully observed in all personnel actions within his department."

Sets Up FEPC Board

The Presidential order establishes in the Civil Service Commission a Fair Employment Board of not less than seven persons, the members of which shall be officers or employees of the commission.

"They shall have the authority to review decisions made by the head of any department which are appealed pursuant to issuance of this order or referred to the board by the head of the department for advice, and to make recommendations to such heads."

Pressure From All Sides

Pressure from severla different angles has been exerted upon President Truman to issue the twin Executive Orders abolishing segregation and discrimination in the Armed Services and the Federal Government.

Charles Howard, Des Moines attorney, Progressive Party keynoter in Philadelphia, Friday, called upon the President to issue such directives, or be branded as a "hypocrite."

Edgar Brown, president of the National Negro Council, led a delegation to the Capital, Monday morning, urging that such Executive Orders be issued.

In addition, A. Uhilip Randolph and Grant Reynolds, each of whom heads organizations set up for the purpose of wiping out jim crow in the Armed Services, called upon Mr. Truman, recently, to do so through a joint letter to him.

With the special session of the 80th Congress beginning Monday, the President has established, by his leadership, high civil rights goals for members of the Republican-dominated Congress to shoot at.

SENATE BLOC PLANS RIGID 'RIGHTS' FIGHT

19 Southerners Shape Strategy to Put 'States' Domain Issue Before Nation by Debate

By WILLIAM S. WHITE
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, July 26 — The Southerners took up today a position of entrenched desperation against the so-called civil-rights program in the resumed Congress. They were understandably disinclined against anything resembling a public concession of imminent defeat. Nevertheless, it can be stated on competent authority that tonight, after anxious consultations, they held no real hope of beating off one or indeed more of the civil-rights bills, assuming that the Republicans and Northern Democrats in the overwhelming which they are capable. panel, which will try to wrest the main purpose now of initiative from Southern extremists to force a prolonged resented clamors as that for the heads of Congress "white supremacy." Administration, intend- The effort will be to present the fresh thrusts delivered by President Truman in issuing Executive Orders intended to end racial discrimination in Federal employment and in the armed forces. They were inclined to take the first time for the South's "States' rights" case to the country in a planned, comprehensive and temperate way. Some of the ablest speakers of the Senate will be used in this

intellectual and constitutional objections held in the South to any Federal invasion of powers historically held by the states.

The general shape of this forthcoming tactic emerged late in the day at the end of a war council of Southern Senators. With a solidarity rare in Congressional life, nineteen of the twenty-two Senators from the old Confederate South declared through their chairman, Senator Richard Russell of Georgia:

"We are fixed in our purpose to fight to the limit of our ability to preserve the dual system of Government in the United States. In this we shall use every resource at our command."

Anti-Truman Ticket Ignored

Significantly, the caucus left severely alone the rump national ticket against President Truman put forward by Southern irreconcilables in Birmingham, Ala., last week.

This was a meeting of regular Democrats, many of them powerful, senior figures in Congress, who, as Senator Russell put it, "refrained from discussing" the bolting movement led by Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi as fourth-party nominees for President and Vice President.

Present were such persons as Senators Tom Connally of Texas, one of the Congressional "fathers" of the United Nations as former chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and Walter F. George of Georgia, former chairman of the Finance Committee.

The nineteen would have been joined by two others, Senators J. William Fulbright of Arkansas and Kenneth D. McKellar of Tennessee, except for their absence from the city. The twenty-second Southern Senator, Claude Pepper of Florida, was pointedly not asked to attend.

"Senator Pepper," Senator Russell said, "has never been invited to these conferences, because he himself in the past has introduced anti-poll-tax legislation."

Mr. Russell declined to predict an eventual Southern victory, observing: "We have not abandoned hope, although the odds against us are greater than they have ever been."

Then he added: "There'll never be an Appomattox for us; we may be wiped out but we shall never surrender."

A majority of the ninteen intransigents, who met in the office of Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, had indicated a willingness, Senator Russell reported, to support any motion for an immediate adjournment of Congress, President Truman's call for a working session notwithstanding.

But, he added, there had been no decision among the Southerners to initiate such a maneuver.

Close Watch to Be Kept

What actually had been accomplished, however, he said, was a detailed plan of defense, "with several alternatives," against the expected quick Republican-Northern Democratic effort to put a civil-rights bill through the Senate.

All was drawn up in quasi-military way. Arrangements were made to insure that at no time in the coming Senate sessions would the floor be bare of Southern sentinels on guard against any surprise attack.

Understandings were made as to the sort of filibuster to be conducted, although the details of this were withheld lest the opposition be put on guard.

There was agreement on nearly evry side that the majority could at length shut off any filibuster, by adopting a closure rule by two-thirds vote. There was not much Southern disposition to deny that the necessary two-third could in fact be marshalled.

Earlier Southern hopes were somewhat dimmed that closure could be evaded through certain technical proceedings, as for example a limitless debate on a motion to bring up a civil-rights measure rather than on the measure itself.

Some contended that if resort was had to this device the effects of closure might actually be obtained by the Opposition simply by forcing a change in the Senate rules on the floor. And this, they argued, could be done by a simple majority vote rather than two-thirds.

If, they said, for example, a Southern filibuster against a motion should be interrupted by a closure petition from the floor, the Republican presiding officer could uphold the Southerner and then was ended in the armed forces Mr. Truman asked him if they too, were not Americans who should loyally serve their country.

More recently, Representative Leo Isacson, American Labor, of New York, demanded that Mr. Truman start his civil rights program in the government, where he did not need the authority of Congress. Mr. Isacson is prominent in Henry Wallace's Progressive party, which put proposals similar to the President's in its platform.

No End to "Segregation" Seen

A federal official interested in promoting the rights of Negroes said tonight that while the orders were a step in the right direction, they called for the end of "discrimination," but made no mention of ending "segregation." Proponents of the Negro cause declare that segregation is prima facie evidence of discrimination.

This official recalled that integration of Negroes in the Army went down to companies who served alongside of companies of white troops. He believed that the President's order on the armed forces, which was not specific on the degree of integregation or mixing to be attained, might push the line down to platoon.

He did not believe that it would go down to the squad, the smallest unit, or twelve men, as that would involve white men and Negroes eating and sleeping in the same quarters. The official expressed the opinion that high officials would not for a long time carry integration lower than the platoon.

In the absence of a deadline for action in the military order and its omission of the question of segregation, the official saw "a pretty good political approach," which should not too greatly affront Southern Democrats.

PRESSES FOR RIGHTS

President Acts Despite Split in Party Over the Issue

LITTLE 'FEPC' IS CREATED

'Merit, Fitness' Set as U. S. Employment Guides—Military Equality Is Demanded

Texts of the President's two executive orders are on Page 4.

By ANTHONY LEVIERO

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, July 26—President Truman ordered today the end of discrimination in the armed forces "as rapidly as possible" and instituted a fair employment practices policy throughout the civil branch of the Federal Government.

On the eve of his appearance before Congress, the President issued two executive orders to carry out his sweeping aims. He said that men in uniform should have "equality of treatment and opportunity" without regard to race, color, religion or national origin. Similarly, he decreed that "merit and fitness" should be the only qualifications for a Government job or for promotion.

The two orders were expected to have a thunderbolt effect on the already highly charged political situation in the Deep South, a situation which is expected to be aggravated further tomorrow when Mr. Truman makes his omnibus call on Congress for action. The message, in one of its eleven major elements, is expected to go down the line for his ten-point civil rights program, which last February started the deep fissures in the Democratic Party.

Enforcement Machinery Set Up

The Presidential orders, which require no Congressional sanction, specified in detail the machinery that would be employed to monitor both anti-discrimination programs.

In the National Military Establishment, Mr. Truman created an advisory panel, called the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services. It will consist of seven members, none of whom was named today.

It was said, however, that one man who probably would be recommended for membership is Dr. Frank Graham, president of the University of North Carolina. It was believed he would be acceptable to North and South, Negro and white.

Within the Federal departments and agencies, the head of each was made personally responsible for the effective application of the policy. Furthermore, the order directed that a Fair Employment Board be formed from among members and employes of the Civil Service Commission. This, too, is to be a seven-member board, as yet unnamed.

The committee of the armed forces received the mission of determining how present practices might be altered to carry out the Presidential order. In stipulating rapid application of the policy, Mr. Truman said that it should be done with due regard to "the time required to effectuate any necessary changes withopt impairing efficency or morale."

Hearings, Appeals Provided

In the civil departments, the head of each was directed to designate an official as "Fair Employment Officer," who was charged with full operating responsibility for the non-discrimination program. Provision was made for hearings of complaints, appeals and disciplinary action.

As the top agency in this program, the Fair Employment Board in the Civil Service Commission received a six-point program providing for review of decisions, drafting of regulations, advice on problems to all departments, publication of information relating to the program, coordination of the policy in the departments and reports to the Commission and to the President.

While the orders did not so state, they implied that they were designed to deal with the Negro problem. Both orders have their roots in the President's civil rights program, and further, in the report of his Committee on Civil Rights, which was issued late last year.

In recent months, Mr. Truman has been caught between two fires on the civil rights issue. The more extreme of the Southern Democrats, arguing that the program infringed on states rights, have named their own Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates. Their feelings, it was predicted, would become even more exaggerated by the executive orders.

On the other hand, the President has been under pressure by organizations with opposite views. For instance, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL, recently visited Mr. Truman with a disturbing report.

He told the President that there was a widespread feeling among Negroes that they would not obey the draft unless discrimination promtply be "overruled" by a majority on appeal from the floor.

These were among the Southern anxieties on the eve of a great controversy likely to be as bitter as Congress has known in many years. It was a controversy confined almost wholly to the Senate as the arena of crisis.

In the House the ability of the Republican leaders to put through one or all of the civil-rights bills is not open to serious question. The only reference there today to the issue was in a speech by Representative John E. Rankin of Mississippi, which was heard in silence.

Mr. Rankin, asserting that both the Republican and Democratic convention planks on civil rights were "communistic," challenged President Truman and Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican Presidential nominee, to debate the matter with him.

Truman Plans May Hurt

President TRUMAN came out fighting at the Philadelphia Convention and his aggressiveness lifted the spirits of those Democrats who feared the election was going by default.

His calling of the Congress into special session July 26 put the Republicans on the defensive for the time being, at least. The need for public housing, price controls, Federal aid to education which the 80th Congress left in the hopper when it adjourned are good campaign material. The theory is that the Republicans will

fro mthe liberal bloc controlling the convention of Mr. TRUMAN'S program to P
impose an F. E. P. C. measure, elimina-
tion of segregation in transportation and su
other legislation that the folks in this ti
area clearly transgress states rights. bl
The Republican Congress may well con-ed
centrate on this feature of his requested av
legislation and ram it through to further be
embarrass the Southern Democratic wing

Southern Democrats who have been successful in gaining the quiet co-operation of their Republican colleagues in this strategy of a special session, however. The President's supporters defeated the Southern delegation in its efforts to include states rights in the
have to act now or stand the consequences in the coming campaign.
There is a distressing prospect for the South in this strategy of a special session, however. The President's supporters defeated the Southern delegation in its efforts to include states rights in the

Hurls Attack At 'Poppycock' GOP Promises

Wants Action On Housing, HCL And Civil Rights

BY JACK BELL

PHILADELPHIA, July 15—(AP)—President Truman countered a Democratic civil rights split today with a dramatic call for a July 26 special session of Congress and a smashing attack on what he termed the "poppycock" of Republican promises.

Mr. Truman asked for action within 15 days after the lawmakers meet, on anti-inflation and housing legislation.

An hour before he took the stage of Philadelphia's Convention Hall early this morning to fling a challenge at the Republicans to make good on their Dewey-Warren platform pledges, Mr. Truman had been nominated by his party on the first ballot.

The vote, indicating the wide breach opened in party ranks by the bitter, last-ditch fight over civil rights was:

President Truman, 947½.
Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia, 263.
Paul V. McNutt, ½ vote.
Not voting, 23.

The convention, after a 38-minute ovation for the president, gave Alben W. Barkley of Kenutcky, 70-year-old minority leader of the Senate, a unanimous vote for vice president.

Unanimous, that is, except for a group of Mississippi and Alabama delegates. They had walked out earlier over the racial issue—turning their steps to Birmingham and a Saturday call for a states' rights convention of their own.

BUT MR. TRUMAN took the bit in his teeth in a fighting acceptance speech.

He said he will recommend that the GOP-controlled special session, among other things, act on civil rights legislation.

While embattled Southern delegations sat silent, the arm-waving chief executive told the delegates:

"Everybody knows that I recommended to the Congress a civil rights program. I do so because I believe it to be my duty under the constitution.

"Some of the members of my own party disagree violently on this matter but they stand up and do it openly. People can tell where we stand. The Republicans all profess to be for these matters, but the 80th Congress failed to act.

"They had enough men and they had cloture (a rule under which Senate debate can be gagged to shut off a filibuster). There were enough people that would vote for cloture."

Some Southern Democrats, angry over the convention's adoption of a stiffer civil rights plank than its own platform committee had urged, said they believe the Republicans will lose no time in putting a civil rights bill before the Senate at the special session.

These same Dixie lawmakers promised the same long-winded debate that has bottled up such moves in the past.

Republicans regarded the prospect of a Democratic filibuster with more glee than they seemed likely to register over Mr. Truman's demand that they solve the housing and inflation problems—and pronto.

* * *

DECLARING AT THE START that "Sen. Barkley and I will win this election and make these Republicans like it," Mr. Truman said the special session will show whether the Republicans "can fool the people with such poppycock" as he said was in their platform.

As his party members thundered their approval, the president told the delegates:

"Now, what that worst 80th Congress does in this special session will be the test. The American people will not decide by listening to mere words or by reading a mere platform.

"They will decide on the record, the record as it has been written, and in the record is the stark truth that the battle lines of 1948 are the same as they were back in 1932 when the nation lay helpless and prostrate as a result of the Republican inaction."

This removed the last doubt that the president intends to make the record of Congress the full keynote of his campaign against Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, of New York.

Gov. Dewey and Mr. Truman developed an indirect argument about foreign policy.

Dewey said in New York yesterday that he had canvassed with John Foster Dulles, his prospective secretary of state in the event of a Republican victory. "The tense world situation and the problems which may result from the extremely partisan and provocative assertions concerning foreign affairs in the draft platform of the Democratic Party."

Dewey didn't spell out his objections.

The Democratic platform said the Republicans had "crippled" the reciprocal trade agreements act, "denied" a loan to the U. N. to build its headquarters in New York City and showed "reluctance" by party votes in the House to provide funds to support the European Recovery Program.

* * *

IN HIS TALK to the delegates, Mr. Truman said a great many of the things that have been done in the international field had been accomplished "in a cooperative bi-partisan manner."

"As I have said time and time again," he declared, "foreign policy should be the policy of the wohle nation and not a policy of one party or the other. Partisanship should stop at the water's edge and I shall continue to preach that through this whole campaign."

By his call for the special session, the president moved the opening scene of the campaign to familiar grounds in Washington where he speaks not only as a candidate but as president.

He called back into action a Congress that has many diverse Republican elements at a time when there is little question that Dewey and Gov. Earl Warren of California, his GOP running mate, would like to be the sole mouthpieces of the Republican Party.

Mr. Truman laid himself and his administration open to daily onslaughts from Republican lawmakers who, individually could command little public attention for their views but collectively could make a headline showing about as big as his own.

Whatever the outcome, Mr. Truman was credited by many of his admirers with having dealt a strong and double-bitted political stroke. Its apparent aim: to blot out the record of the last-ditch Dixie fight against his nomination and to put the Republicans on the defensive.

Some of this credit was tabbed by party members for Clark Clifford, young White House counsel, and Judge Samuel I. Rosenman, who used to ghost some of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt's speeches.

Both turned up with the president on the convention platform when Mr. Truman walked in for one of the big moments of his life. Mrs. Truman and Daughter Margaret were there too.

* * *

JOVIAL SAM RAYBURN, the Texan who is minority leader of the House, had urged the audience not to eat up time with a demonstration because the hour was too late.

Mr. Truman had been waiting several hours in a backstage room for the convention to complete its business.

There he heard his partisans cut loose a well-organized, liberally placarded march that was about the biggest outburst the Democrats have produced in the last four years.

Touched off by a nominating speech by Gov. Phil Donnelly of Mr. Truman's native Missouri, it lasted 38 minutes. But screams from a siren and music from a band and organ, found the Southern delegations which had supported Russell sitting silently, grimly holding on to their state standards.

By contrast, the 20-minute show Dixieland put on for Russell had a hard time getting started but was more liberally sprinkled with rebel yells.

For six minutes, the Russell supporters struggled to make what noise they could vocally. Then National Chairman J. Howard McGrath told an aid: "Get these boys some music."

The band burst into "Dixie" and the show was on the road. State flags and the Confederate banner furnished color.

But that was about all the Dixie delegations had to yell about.

They put Russell, who has called Mr. Truman's proposals a 'civil wrongs" program, as their protest candidate after Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas quit the race.

They collected slightly less than one-fifth of the convention's 1,234 votes for their candidates.

THEY TOOK A BAD LICKING, 925 to 309, in an attempt to tack on to the platform a states' rights statement.

But the crowning blow was the 651½ to 582½ vote by which the convention decided to write into the platform a flat endorsement of Mr. Truman's civil rights program.

All in all, it was a revolt that failed—so far as the convention was concerned.

What it would accomplish at Birmingham day after tomorrow remained to be seen.

Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi issued the formal call for that Dixie conclave to nominate a states' rights picket and draft a states' right platform.

But Russell threw cold water on that. He said he wouldn't take part. Laney said he will have to talk things over with some other leaders before he decides whether to attend.

Russell, running for reelection to the Senate, said at Winder, Ga., he allowed his name to go before the convention here "reluctantly."

"The delegates to the Democratic convention who still believe in the Jeffersonian doctrine of states' rights were entitled to have some candidate who believes in that principle that they could support," the Georgian said.

"When it became apparent that no other states' right Democrat was to be placed in nomination, I reluctantly consented."

But when Alabama put Russell in nomination for the vice presidential post in opposition to Barkley, the Georgia senator killed that move off quickly. The result was that Barkley's choice was unanimous.

WHAT MR. TRUMAN has lost in electoral college votes by the public split in his party can't be counted with any accuracy yet.

Alabama already has instructed its 11 electoral votes to be cast for somebody else. Misssissippi might follow suit. No one knew whether other Dixie states would.

In a close election, however, that might be enough to throw the verdict to the Republicans, especially witih Henry A. Wallace's third party likely to cut into the Democratic popular vote in the big states.

The loss to the Truman-Barkley ticket could be totaled in other ways, however.

McGrath already has conceded that the Democrats have been getting no money out of the South to finance their campaign. While that might be remedied to some extent, the national ticket seemed likely to lose the active support of many of those who didn't walk out of the convention.

For instance, Sen. McClellan (D., Ark.) told a reporter he is going to tend to his own business this Summer and Fall and forget about campaigning for the national ticket.

Many of the Southerners made it clear they are not bolting the party.

Some of them spoke of the convention's actions more in sorrow than in anger.

South Carolina Delegate Robert Figg called iit "the funeral of the Democratic Party."

Texas' Gov. Beauford Jester said he thinks "the party has lost its sense of balance in order to get votes," but added:

"Texas will string along, although we do not like it."

Others were bitter.

Rep. John Bell Williams, Mississippi delegate, said the civil rights platform action "drives a knife into the heart of the party and reads the South out of the party."

OUTSIDE THE SOUTH, the reaction of party members to the president's challenge of the Republicans was favorable.

Clinton P. Anderson, former secretary of agriculture who is running for the Senate in New Mexico, said the president had put the Republicans on the spot.

Barkley said, "There is no way to avoid" a special session.

"We can't play with the American people," he declared. "It was a courageous and proper thing to do, now that both parties have shown what they stand for. We've got to do it."

Mr. Truman got his best reaction from the steamy, crowded convention hall when he sailed into the Republicans.

There were cries of "pour it on" as he declared that the Republicans had said that prices would adjust themselves if OPA were killed and added:

"They have adjusted themselves all right. They have gone all the way off the chart in adjusting themselves at the expense of the consumer and for the benefit of the people that hold the goods."

Taunting the Republicans about their promises, the president said Day," the president said he is call- 40-cent-an-hour minimum the opposition party in Congress ing the GOP lawmakers on the "which I doubt very much they are had "torn up" the Labor Depart- promises their platform made. on admissions which were criti- for."

The Southerners were grim as he gave full-fledged approval to the platform's call for repeal of the Taft-Hartley labor act.

Noting that July 26, the date on which he has called Congress, is known in Missouri as

He said he would ask Congress for action on aid to education, a cheer when he asserted:

"I shall ask for adequate and de- health program, civil cent laws for displaced persons in- lation and extension of curity coverage "which stead of this anti-Semetic and they are for." anti-Catholic law which the 80th DO WILL, ASK, Mr. Tru- Congress passed."

for an increase in the The bill, admitting some 200,000 our minimum wage displaced persons, put restrictions doubt very much they are on admissions which were criti- cized by some Democrats.

sident got his loudest There were one or two points in

the president's speech that didn't go over so well with some Democrats outside the South.

For instance, Carroll O. Switzer, of Des Moines, chairman of the Iowa delegation, said Mr. Truman's reference to farmers "may have been unfortunate." The president said the Democrats had helped the farmers to prosperity and "if they do not do their duty by the Democratic Party, they are the most ungrateful people in the world."

The president used about the same language in calling on organized labor members to support his ticket.

Mr. Truman lost little time in getting back to the capital after his speech. His special train pulled into Washington at 5:10 a.m., after a two-hour and 10-minute trip back from Philadelphia.

Despite the hour, aids said the president would meet with his staff at the usual 10 a.m. They added that the formal call for the special session will be ready within 36 hours.

There were some dramatic, and some humorous, moments in the convention's last-day marathon session.

* * *

MISSISSIPPI DELEGATES tried to walk out at the afternoon meeting, by Rayburn studiously ignored the shouts of Eugene Connor, Birmingham police commissioner, for recognition and gaveled through a recess.

When the presidential nomination roll call began, Connor's Alabama group walked. Mississippi delegates went along.

But the Alabama group closed ranks under Sen. Lister Hill by bringing in alternates. They replaced their state placard which the bolters had carried off.

With Mississippi it was another story.

When the clerk called that state's name, there was no answer. Nobody had moved into the delegation's vacated seats.

Finally a thin voice piped up: "Mississippi's gone home." The roll call went on.

Charles J. Bloch, Georgian who put Russell's name in nomination went back to William Jennings Bryan's "cross of gold" speech for his declaration that the convention "shall not crucify the South on a cross of civil rights."

As Mr. Truman took his place on the platform, an employe struggled to release a group of white doves from a cage under a Liberty Bell built of flowers.

Rayburn finally had to come back on the platform and personally assist in shooting the doves into the air. They didn't fly so well in the muggy air of the hall and lit indiscriminately on delegate and spectator heads.

Paul V. McNutt, former security administrator, sat in the reserved section behind the platform and heard his name offered for the presidency.

Eight years ago he was running when there still was some slim doubt that President Roosevelt would seek a third term. McNutt got out then. He ended up with a half vote today.

Racial Equality in Armed Forces Is Called For in Truman Order

Also Sets Up an F. E. P. C. for Federal Employees; Southern Senators May Filibuster Over His Civil-Rights Program, To Be Restated Today

By David McConnell

WASHINGTON, July 26.—President Truman today ordered an ultimate end to racial discrimination within the armed forces and set up immediate fair employment practice rules for government employees, as nineteen Southern Senators promised a "fight to the end" against any Congressional action on civil rights.

By executive order, Mr. Truman called for effectuating "the policy of the President" for "equality of treatment and opportunity" for all in the armed services, but nowhere in the order made mention of the controversitl question of segregation. His order sets up—to be staffed later—a seven-member President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services to study "rules, procedures and practices," of the military and recommend changes.

A second order called for all Federal officers to "insure" that there is "no discrimination because of race, color, religion or national origin" in government employment. It ordered creation of a similar seven-member fair employment board, within the Civil Service Commission, to carry out the presidential order.

[The government already has an official policy barring discrimination in the hiring and treatment of civilian employees. The President's directive appeared to be aimed at reaffirming that policy, and setting up procedures to prevent deviations. A spokesman for the Civil Service Commission said regulations forbidding discrimination on political or religious grounds have beeni n effect for more than sixty years. He said they have been tightened from time to time to stop racial discrimination. The United Press Reported.]

While rebellious Southern Democratic Senators met for more than an hour this afternoon in the offices of Senator Harry F. Byrd, of Virginia, to chart a Southern fight against civil rights legislation, the Presidential orders were released at the White House.

Russell to Study Orders

When advised of their content, Senator Richard B. Russell, of Georgia, chairman of the Southern rebels in the Senate, declined to comment until he has had an opportunity to study both texts. Others in Washington noted that early last year the President's Civil Rights Commission recommended elimination of segregation within the military.

The Civil Rights Commission report showed that the armed forces as a whole have one officer for every seven enlisted men. It found that there was one Negro officer for each seventy enlisted men while the Navy had only four Negro officers, the highest ranking holding a junior grade lieutenancy. Two others were ensigns while the fourth was described as a nurse.

Although the armed forces order skirted segregation, it stressed that an anti-discrimination policy "shall be put into effect as rapidly as possible, having due regard to the time required to effectuate any necessary changes without impairing efficiency or morale."

Whether the order went far enogh to please anti-segregation exponents could not be determined tonight. A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Pullman Porters ,has advised Negroes to refuse a draft until segregation is removed, while on April 26 a delegation of Negro leaders told Secretary of Defense James Forrestal they would not aid the armed services until discrimintion was eliminated.

Filibuster Is Threatened

The rebellious Southerners prepared to filibuster if nicessary to block attempts by Northern colleagues in the Senate to bring up pending civil rights legisaltion. Senator Russell said they were prepared to use "reason and persuasion" and "every legislative technique" to prevent passage of such measures now on the calendar as the anti-poll tax, anti-lynching and Fair Employment Practice Commission bills.

When the meeting broke up, Senator Russell told reporters that "we are fixed in our purpose to preserve the dual system of government."

He was asked to spell dual, but Senator Tom Connally, of Texas, interrupted to say that "it's going to be a duel before it's over."

Senator Russell, asserting he did not like the word "filibuster," promised that the Southern group will "speak at length" should attempts be made to call up civil rights legislation. He asid today's meeting had been called to plan strategy.

Following the press conference Senator Allen J. Ellender, of Louisiana, said one line of attack may be to start a filibuster if a Senate motion is made to consider any of the pending civil rights legislation. The Southern bloc contends that cloture cannot be applied in the Senate until a bill is called up, but they agree that the presiding officer could entertain a motion to change the rules.

Odds Declared Great

Describing the odds against them as "greater than ever," Senator Russell said, "We still feel we have a chance to beat them." He added that "we don't intend to surrender this time, but we may be wiped out."

Announced plans of the rebellious group are to have at least one member on the Senate floor at all sessions. Senator Russell said they may caucus again tomorrow after hearing President Truman's message and reading reports on Republican plans. All would vote to adjourn the session if the Republican majority should make a move that way, Mr. Russell said.

Absent from the session was Senator Claude Pepper, of Florida, who, Senator Russell said, was "not invited" because of his introduction in the last session of anti-poll tax legislation.

Attending were Senators Connally, Byrd, Russell and Ellender; John C. Stennis, of Mississippi; Burnet R. Maybank, of South Carolina; John L. McClellan, of Arkansas; Lister Hill, of Alabama; W. Lee O'Daniel, of Texas; Spessard L. Holland, of Florida; A. Willis Robertson, of Virginia; Walter F. George, of Georgia; Clyde R. Hoey, of North Carolina; James O. Eastland, of Mississippi; William C. Feazel, of Louisiana; William B. Umstead, of North Carolina; John J. Sparkman, of Alabama; Olin D. Johnston, of South Carolina, and Tom Stewart, of Tennessee.

Senator Kenneth McKellar, of Tennessee, and Senator J. William Fulbright, of Arkansas, sent word they were en route to Washington and would join the bloc in the civil-rights fight.

Senate to Take Up Anti-Poll-Tax Bill

Dixiecrats Set to Talk Measure To Death, Balking Other Legislation

By the Associated Press

Washington, July 27.—The Republicans said "No" tonight to President Truman's demand for price controls and other powers to halt rising prices.

They announced plans to wind up the special session of Congress, called by the President, "as soon as possible." Many members said that meant within two weeks.

And they decided to turn the "turnip" session into a civil-rights fight, apparently ruling out any major legislation along the lines asked by President Truman in his speech before a joint session today.

The Republicans, who control Congress, gave their answer to his urging in a chorus of scoffing which reached a climax with a statement tonight by G.O.P. leaders of both houses.

Text of the Republicans' reply is on Page 5.

They blasted the calling the special session as a "political maneuver" by Truman "in the campaign for his own re-election."

They promised "consideration" of his anti-inflation proposals. But they said the blame for high prices rested solely on the Democratic Administration. And they said flatly:

"It is our view that the restoration of O.P.A. subsidies, price control, wage control, and rationing would only make things worse."

Then they announced what they would do: take up in the Senate tomorrow or Thursday an anti-poll-tax bill which Southern Democrats are pledged to fight to a finish.

The Dixiecrats are all set to talk the measure to death. In doing so they almost certainly would prevent action on any other legislation.

Part of Truman's Program.

Ironically, the anti-poll-tax bill is part of Truman's own civil-rights program—the one that provoked the Dixiecrat revolt at the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia.

Thus one of the President's own proposals seems likely to be used by the opposition in an effort to prevent his other proposals from being carried out.

During the G.O.P. huddling that preceded the statement of intentions, Senator Robertson (R., Wyo.) said Governor Thomas E. Dewey had advised Congress to "stay around a week or so and then go home."

Asked for comment, James C. Hagerty, press secretary to the presidential nominee, said at Pawling, N. Y.:

"The Governor feels that the Congress should stay in Washington and give careful consideration to whatever was proposed in the President's message."

Prices Come First.

Prices came first in Truman's appeal to Congress. Housing came second. He said the need for low-rent homes was desperate. He urged the House to pass the Taft-Ellender-Wagner long-range housing bill already adopted by the Senate.

G.O.P. leaders turned him down on that, too. They said a long-range program "cannot be dealt with at this special session." But they promised "further consideration" of the housing shortage and said "much already has been done" by the 80th Congress to solve it.

The Republicans' answer to the President in general: "Serious legislative problems cannot be satisfactorily handled in the midst of a political campaign. There is a fundamental difference, the Republicans said, between what Truman thinks and what Congress thinks—he wants to "regiment" the country; Congress believes in the historic "principles of liberty." It's up to the voters, the G.O.P. statement said, to decide between them in November.

Filibuster Likely Today.

The Republican leaders' announcement was equivalent to shouting, "Filibuster ahead!"

A closely knit band of Southern senators is pledged to fight all civil-rights proposals by any means at their command.

The filibuster quite possibly may begin tomorrow with a series of time-consuming motions to "amend" and "correct" the official journal of today's proceedings.

The process of amendment and correction conceivably could be stretched out for weeks. Once a senator has the floor, he is not constrained to confine his remarks to the matter at hand, but may range as far as his wit, his persistence, and his information permit.

Five Kentucky Congressmen Join Barkley In Praising Truman Speech

Cooper Doubts Value of Session

By ROBERT L. RIGGS.
The Courier-Journal Washington Bureau.

Washington, July 27. — Five Kentucky members of the House today joined Senator Alben W. Barkley in praising President Truman's message to Congress. They declared Congress should enact most of his program, particularly his anti-inflation proposals, the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Housing Bill, and the measure providing $300,000,000 federal assistance to States for their schools.

But Kentucky's Republican senator, John S. Cooper, said the political atmosphere of the special session is such that he doubts any good can be accomplished. If it soon becomes apparent that no legislation can be passed, Cooper said, the session ought to adjourn and wait until the people have decided whether they want a Republican or a Democratic Administration.

Representative William Lewis, Republican from London, assailed the Truman message as entirely political. W. Howes Meade, Paintsville Republican, said, "The message sounded good and touched on many subjects of importance but it contains nothing of any practical value. It was all political."

Two Kentucky congressmen, Thruston B. Morton, Louisville Republican, and Joe B. Bates, Greenup Democrat, were absent.

Wants to See Specific Bills

Barkley, who is the Democratic nominee for Vice-President, as well as Democratic leader in the Senate, said of the speech:

"It was excellent. He offered a reasonable program which is attainable if Congress will take it seriously and go to work on it."

Cooper said:

"As far as specific proposals in the President's message are concerned, I have supported most of them and would do so again. They include housing, education, a more liberal displaced-persons bill, and the funds for a steam plant for the T.V.A. at New Johnsonville.

"As to his inflation proposals, it is the same program he gave to us before. I would want to see the specific bills that he might send us, rather than make my decision on his general recommendations. I notice that he brushed lightly over the civil-rights proposal as well as over the question of wage controls.

"I doubt very much if there is a practical chance for us to accomplish anything here. In view of the circumstances of his call for a special session, made in accepting a political nomination, the whole thing has a political flavor. . . .

"If it is soon apparent that we can accomplish something during the session, we ought to stay here and try it. If it becomes apparent that we can't accomplish anything, we ought to quit and let the people decide whether they want to re-elect Truman or elect a Republican President with whom a Republican Congress can work."

The hearty approval which tion program "constructive and necessary" and declared his group would support it.

Joseph A. Beirne, president of the independent Communications Workers of America, said he hoped the Republican-dominated Congress would "show the same courage the President displayed."

Senator Taft (R., Ohio) said the message was full of inaccuracies and omissions on high prices and housing. He said it would take six months to consider the whole program, and charged it was purely political.

Halleck Assails Message

Senator George (D., Ga.) said: "It's the work for a year if done thoroughly."

House Majority Leader Halleck (R., Ind.): "The President insults the intelligence of the American people. . . . There is nothing new in his recommendations on prices."

Representative Harness (R., Ind.): "Mr. Truman reached the supreme height of his career in sophistry and demagogy. It was outrageous imposition on the people and the Congress to call a special session for a purely partisan political speech."

Senator McGrath (D., R. I.), chairman of the Democratic National Committee: "What is done to achieve the President's recommendations will be a testing of our patriotism; what is not done will be a proof of our partisanship."

Senator McMahon (D., Conn.): "Hamburger at $1 a pound and the desperate need for housing will make the Republican majority take the President's proposals more seriously than they would like."

Chairman Taber (R., N. Y.) of the House Appropriations Committee: "It looks like he (Mr. Truman) is in favor of increased inflation, higher prices, and greater scarcity."

'Last Political Gasp.'

Representative Arends (R., Ill.): "Maybe we ought to give the President 'E' for effort in this last political gasp."

House Speaker Martin (R., Mass.): "It is a political speech that, if put into effect, would mean heavy additional taxes for the people."

Senator Stewart (D., Tenn.): "His comments on civil rights are completely out of tune. I think this suggestion for ending segregation in the Army will cause more disunity in the country than anything else."

Representative Dondero (R., Mich.): "I wonder what happened to the civil-rights program? He sloughed over it. In other words, he ate crow."

Senator Maybank (D., S. C.): "It's a shame the President had to bring up the so-called civil rights, and the thing he tried to do to the armed services is an outrage . . . I don't think Congress has any intention of putting in an O.P.A. The whole thing is a smoke screen to put civil rights over on the people."

Pepper Pledges Support.

Senator Wherry (R., Neb.): "The Republicans should not favor further appropriations. . . . The President advocates the very thing that will send prices up."

Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas (D., Cal.): "I'm 100 per cent for the President's program."

Senator Pepper (D., Fla.): "The President made a very progressive address. I will support most of his recommendations."

Senator Ball (R., Minn.): "The only kind of Congress that could possibly pass upon all the highly controversial measures he advocates in a few weeks or even months would be one of the Hitler Reichstag variety. The 80th Congress is not that kind."

Senator Hawkes (R., N. J.): "It would be better for Congress to adjourn until after the elections so members can get out of this political atmosphere."

'Would Destroy Capital'

Senator Millikin (R., Col.), chairman of the Finance Committee: "The excess-profits tax would destroy an important source of capital for production and thus increase shortages and increase prices."

Senator Cordon (R., Ore.): "A Democratic candidate's acceptance speech."

Senator Gurney (R., S. D.): "I still want to be home."

PRESIDENT TAKES RAP AT CONGRESS

Asserts GOP Ignoring His Recommendations

(The Associated Press)

Washington, Aug. 5. — President Truman angrily accused the GOP Congress today of dragging a "red herring" across the trail to distract attention from its "feeble compromises" on the cost of living issue.

Mr. Truman at a news conference opened fire anew on the legislators for ignoring his demands for rationing and price-wage control powers.

Republican leaders immediately replied that the people will decide the issue in November.

"We do not intend," said Senator Taft, R., Ohio, "to reimpose on the American people the police state methods of price fixing, wage fixing, and rationing ended by the president's own order."

Taft declared the president already has many powers to curb inflation. And Senator Brewster, R., Me., charged that the administration, despite its call for lower prices, was forcing wheat prices up by increasing its wheat export goal in the face of bountiful European crops.

Demands Reconsideration

Mr. Truman said Congress still has time to perform the tasks for which he called it into extra session soon after he was nominated at the Democratic national convention. He demanded that leaders reconsider their plans to adjourn this week or early next.

As for the Communist spy investigation, he said, it is not only failing to bring to light new testimony, but is doing irreparable harm. It is, he said, nothing but a red herring.

Turning to the atomic bomb and peace, Mr. Truman said he was hopeful for peace, and still had faith in the plan to outlaw the atomic bomb as a weapon.

But he would not comment on diplomatic negotiations with Moscow.

Concentrates on Congress

He concentrated on Congress at today's news conference:

"It now appears that the 80th Congress is determined to take no effective action on the proposals which I have submitted to curb high prices and to protect the average American citizen against the certain prospect of increased living costs," he said in a prepared statement.

"I have been informed that the Republican leadership has decided that the Congress will not be allowed to consider really effective measures to stop high prices."

He said this decision was reached without listening to the "full information the administration was prepared to offer." In fact, he said, such information was rejected.

"In the absence of such basic information, I do not see how the committee (House committee on banking and currency) can make an intelligent decision on issues which so gravely affect the welfare of the American people and their standard of living.

Tax Not Considered

"Following the same pattern, the ways and means committee of the House refused to give any consideration to the recommendations for an excess profits tax, which is necessary to offset the inflationary effects of the tax bill passed last spring . . .

"It would appear that the Republican leaders are unwilling to extend to the congress an opportunity to vote on the issues of direct price control, the authority to impose allocations and priorities, and the other elements of a balanced program which I submitted to Congress, including provisions to strengthen and reinforce rent control."

He added that he hoped Congress would reconsider its plans for a quick adjournment in order to take action on his recommendations.

"There is still time for the Congress to fulfill its responsibilities to the American people. Our people will not be satisfied with the feeble compromises that apparently are being concocted."

Hill Carries Ball For Dixie Talkers

WASHINGTON—(AP)— The Southern filibuster against a bill to repeal the poll tax droned on Tuesday with Senator Hill, of Alabama, reading the history of the constitution in a slow Dixie drawl.

Senator Taft (R), Ohio, has said that in his opinion it is "absolutely impossible" to break the filibuster.

The GOP policy leader said he would ask a special Republican conference today to decide whether to back a plan to submit the poll tax question to the states as a constitutional amendment.

Senator Hill carried the ball for the South Tuesday afternoon. When he started there were 52 senators on the floor.

He read a good bit from the history of the Constitution of the United States.

His choice of subject did not seem to interest either congressmen or gallery — by 4 p.m. only four senators remained on the floor, and the audience had become slim.

PHILADELPHIA, July 25.—The three Progressive Party members of Congress will use every means at hand to keep the special session of Congress, which opens tomorrow, going until it has passed the civil rights program "in toto," an adequate public housing measure and effective price control legislation.

This pledge was given to the people of the United States this evening by Rep. Vito Marcantonio, on behalf of Sen. Glen Taylor, Rep. Leo Isacson, and himself from Convention Hall, where their Party's founding convention was winding up.

"Senator Taylor, Congressman Isacson and I have decided to use every rule at hand to make certain Congress will not adjourn" until these things are done, Marcantonio told a press conference.

The three Congressmen issued a joint statement in which they declared that they would call the "Truman bi-partisan bluff in the special session" by moving immediately for abandonment of the $20,000,000,000 war program. They declared they would substitute for it a genuine foreign relief program through the United Nations and an extensive domestic program.

"In line with these steps and to reassure the world of our nation's peaceful intentions, we shall move to repeal the peacetime draft," they said.

"We shall press for passage of price control legislation, which will roll back the prices of key commodities, restore price ceilings and provide subsidies to protect farm income."

Other things for which they said they would press in the special session included:

- **$1 an hour national minimum wage.**
- **Extension of coverage of the wage-hour law.**
- **Repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law.**
- Increase in Federal old-age pensions to $100 a month.
- **Restoration of effective** rent control based upon any other, the highly flammable one of civil rights for Negroes. It is broadening a split between

The civil rights program for which they declared they would fight to the finish includes abolition of discrimination and segregation in the armed forces, enactment of FEPC, anti-lynch and anti-polltax laws, and abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Marcantonio assailed the Democratic Party platform on civil rights for failure to mention specifically FEPC or abolition of the anti polltax law.

"There's been a lot of wind about the amended Democratic civil rights plank," he said. "But why didn't the Democrats say 'we believe in FEPC, anti-polltax, etc?' They said they were for equal opportunity for jobs. Rankin says that, too.

"I say the Democratic Party has given the Negro people the same old merry-go-round the old parties have always given them."

The Laborite Congressman declared there would be a march on Washington Aug. 5 organized by the Civil Rights Congress, and that the Progressive Party would join it.

Isacson told the press that the three congressmen were going to fight at this session to get the arms embargo on Israeli lifted."

"We're going to use Congress as a forum to urge the people of the nation to write to Truman demanding he live up to his Democratic Party platform promise," Isacson stated.

BUCK-PASSING STRATEGY MAPPED

WASHINGTON, July 25.—A buck-passing strategy worked by both old parties appeared to be taking shape as the special session of the 80th Congress called by President Truman opens tomorrow (Monday).

Republican Party leaders announced their end of the strategy as follows: After President Truman makes his standard vote-getting speech demanding vague price controls, the GOP leaders will immediately throw the anti-lynch bill into the hopper with the expectation that the Southern Democrats will then start their usual filibuster. Such a filibuster could easily prevent the special session from taking any action on prices, rents, or other anti-inflation measures. Yesterday, the Southern Democrats said that they "are willing to take the blame" for talking the special session to death.

Session Call May Hurt Democrats

Truman's Move Seen Backfiring

BY PAUL R. LEACH
Chief of Our Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Northern Democratic candidates might lose more than they can gain politically in the special July 26 Congress session President Truman has called, while the Southern revolt against his election expands.

The election dynamite will be wrapped up more in one issue than

Is Truman a Pushover?

John S. Knight in "The Editor's Notebook" in Sunday's Free Press warns Republicans against thinking Truman's already beaten.

Northern and Southern Democrats.

* * *

REPUBLICAN LEADERS probably will take Truman's acceptance speech paragraph blaming Republicans for failure to pass civil rights laws as a demand for making the bills a major order of business.

That always has meant a Southern state filibuster in the Senat. There seldom has been Senate debate on the race problem without violent speeches by some of the Southerners. Those speeches deal with Southern race problems in the kind of baldface words that infuriate Northern Negroes.

It is difficult for Negro voters, who are important on election day in Illinois, Michigan, New York, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Missouri and California, to separate Southern Democrats from the Democratic Party label on the ballot in their political thinking.

THIS IS complicated by the fact that the Republicans have civil rights in their platform and did introduce those bills in the last Congress in the face of Southern Democrat opposition.

States righters are meeting Saturday in Birmingham, Ala., to seek organization to keep their electoral votes from Truman in November.

Whether the Birmingham plan succeeds or fizzles, reopening of the issue in Congress just before election is certain to sharpen Tru-

Southerners fear loss of patronage. Page 3.

man opposition in those states. At the same time forcing the issue in Congress would compel Northern Democrats to back up their own platform.

* * *

"THE REPUBLICANS all profess," said Truman. "to be for these measures, but the 80th Congress failed to act.

"They had enough men to do it, and they could have had cloture, and they didn't need to have a filibuster. There were enough people in that Congress who would have voted for cloture."

The Truman speech was a direct appeal for cloture against a Southern filibuster in the special session.

* * *

SIXTEEN SENATORS may petition for cloture. If two-thirds of those voting accept cloture, the measure must be voted on—but not until after every one of the 96 senators, if he desires, has been permitted to talk for one hour.

The Republican leaders were not too certain of two-thirds for cloture on civil rights in the last session. They were certain of filibusters if they insisted on bringing the civil rights bills to debate.

Bills were on the calendar outlawing poll taxes, permitting the Federal Government to enter a state to act against a lynch mob and to set up national fair employment standards.

* * *

MEANWHILE, Senate Republican policy makers are beginning discussion of four tentative proposals to meet President Truman's challenge.

Here are the broad outlines of the chief suggestions:

1—Meet in response to the President's call, and promptly adjourn. This maneuver could be accompanied with a resolution saying the President's issues would be met at the ballot boxes in November.

2—Hold a well-advertised strategy conference with Govs. Dewey and Warren and work out a counter program. This would become a party program which Republicans would support in Congress, and in the election campaign.

3—Accept the Truman proposals as a working basis, and exploit the Democratic differences over them. This would mean inciting the Southern Democrats to filibuster and defeat the civil rights proposals.

4—Meet and ride out the storm in the hope that public opinion would turn against the President under the influence of extended debate in Congress.

Congress Meets Familiar Problem

WASHINGTON — (AP)—Housing, housing, housing . . .

It will be a grim problem for Congressmen to wrestle with when they return for the emergency session July 26.

A lot of them will be without any.

When the regular session ended in June many Congressmen, not expecting to be back in Washington before next January, sub-let their quarters for the next six months.

Rep. Bender Asks Senate To Call Southerners' Bluff

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—Representative George H. Bender, Republican, of Ohio, author of the anti-poll tax bill which passed the House July 21, 1947, and is now pending in the Senate, last Wednesday demanded that the Senate call the "bluff" of Southerners, who threaten a filibuster against the measure.

"The threatened filibuster by Senators from poll-tax states, who have never faced a free election in their political lives and hate this legislation the way the Devil hates holy water, can be broken," Mr. Bender asserted.

"Cloture, which cuts off debate and permits a bill to be brought to a vote, requires a two-thirds vote of the chamber," he said. "Cloture should be promptly voted and my bill brought to a vote in the Senate," Mr. Bender asserted.

"Those who would block it in the Senate hope to exercise the same sort of minority rule in the United States Senate that they exercise in their own states. Their bluff should be called now."

HARD JOB SEEN

Since Republican leaders announced last Tuesday evening their intention of bringing up the anti-poll tax bill, it does not appear that cloture can be adopted as simply as Mr. Bender would have it appear.

Under the present Senate rules, cloture does not apply to a motion to correct the Journal or to a motion to take up a bill.

Republicans believe they can get around a filibuster on the reading of the Journal simply by recessing from day to day and not adjourning. The Senate legislative day starts anew following adjournment. The legislative day opens with the "morning hour," during which the Journal is read unless it is dispensed with by unanimous consent. If the Senate recesses, the legislative day is continued until the next adjournment and there is no "morning hour" and no reading of the Journal.

DEBATE SEEN

Just how Republicans will avoid a filibuster on a motion to take up the anti-poll tax bill does not yet appear. Debate on such a motion cannot be shut off by cloture. Cloture applies only when a bill becomes the unfinished business of the Senate.

Faced with this situation, Walter White, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, last Wednesday said he was calling a meeting of representatives of twenty-five national organizations to ask them to press for an immediate amendment of Senate rules to make cloture applicable to any motion.

A resolution to do this is on the Senate calendar, but if it is called up, Southerners will engage in a filibuster against it.

Washington Calling

Strategy Behind Special Session Call

By MARQUIS CHILDS

WASHINGTON.

IT TOOK a great deal of persuading to get President Truman to call the 80th Congress back into session. He knows very well that it will mean a repetition of the game of veto and recrimination that was played out in the end of the session that closed just before the opening of the Republican convention.

What may well have been the clinching argument came from Mr. Truman's political managers. They pointed out that the Democratic till is practically empty. The funds are simply not forthcoming to conduct a national campaign with costly radio hookups and country-wide tours.

But with Congress in session, it was argued, the President would have a ready-made sounding board. A message by the President of the United States to Congress is front-page news even though he is a candidate for reelection.

If the President goes in person to the Congress with his message, it is normally carried by all the radio networks. Here, incidentally, is an interesting problem for the radio chains, which customarily charge commercial rates for broadcasting political speeches.

The Republicans are certain to come back in an angry mood. They will do everything they can to put the President on the spot as revenge for his boldness in calling them back.

The more rebellious are even asking whether it might not be better to refuse to come back. There is nothing to compel Congress to return. Such a refusal would create an extraordinary situation and the President could tell the country that the Republicans were afraid to face the issues.

THE political hazards in a special session are real. The President's can't risk a great deal because he has so little to lose. That is not true of the GOP.

The Republican candidate for president, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, will be seeking to shape a campaign by speeches and statements that appeal to a wide range of voters. But by their actions the Republican Congress can nullify his stand and make him look foolish. This is one of the chief points urged on the President by those who favored the step he took dramatically in his acceptance speech.

The Democrats will, of course, have their own troubles. Republican leaders in Congress plan immediately to push civil-rights legislation called for in the platforms of both parties.

This will precipitate a Southern filibuster in the Senate. Such a filibuster was discounted in the discussions leading up to the recall of Congress. It was considered quite likely that it would last at least a month.

That interlude would even help the President's position since it would put off until the Fall, when the campaign really warms up, the showdown over housing and inflation. In the dog days of August the country can ignore the marathon of Southern oratory, which will gradually wear itself out. Then, as an interest in politics revives in September, the President can throw the book at the Republicans encamped unhappily on Capitol Hill.

THE Southern marathon is likely to defeat any civil-rights measures. That will give the GOP a chance to blame Mr. Truman's party for failure to carry out platform pledges. But clearly he cannot be made to accept responsibility on this score, since the South in convention seceded from the Democratic Party of the North.

So the country is in for a long and bitter siege while the rival branches of government belabor each other, as they have so often done in the past, with every weapon in sight. It will be a strange spectacle for the allegedly most powerful nation on earth at a moment when so much is balanced on the knife-edge of destiny.

It goes without saying that the net result in legislation will be zero. As there are political hazards in this maneuver, so there are great hazards for us all regardless of party.

The fragile boundaries of the bi-partisan foreign policy have already been pushed in by what happened at the conventions and the shadow of the coming campaign. In the special session that little island of policy is certain to be further invaded by angry partisans. The Taberites will not be able to resist sniping at the European recovery program.

The session may well hold political advantages for Mr. Truman, who finds himself under such great handicaps. But measured in terms of the good of the country, this campaign maneuver may prove even more costly than the old-fashioned variety financed by lobbyists and pressure groups.

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Message For Special Session May Go Today

Chief Executive Up Early Despite Tiring Trip To Convention

BY ERNEST B. VACCARO

WASHINGTON, July 15—(AP)—The call for a special session of Congress which President Truman promised at Philadelphia early today may be issued before nightfall, the White House said.

Returning to the capital after a strenuous overnight trip to the National Democration Convention where he accepted the presidential nomination, Mr. Truman called his staff to a morning conference.

Afterwards, White House Secretary Charles G. Ross told reporters the president gave instructions "that the necessary steps be set in motion immediately" to get the Republican-controlled Congress back into special session on July 26.

THE PRESIDENT had only a brief rest aboard his special train and a three-hour nap before meeting his aids.

The president has "been thinking about the need for a special session for a good while," Ross said.

The president will deliver at least one, and perhaps additional special messages to the lawmakers.

Presumably, these will deal with price controls, housing, aid to education, broadened social security and other issues which he told the convention the "80th, worst Congress" neglected in its regular session.

Whether Mr. Truman will face the legislators in person to deliver the opening message, or send it to Capitol Hill to be read by clerks, has not been decided, Ross said.

The president was at his desk before 9 a.m.

When he left the presidential special train and returned to the White House he "tried to get the 5:30 news broadcast, but was a little late," Ross reported. However, he picked up subsequent news reports on the air, then turned in for a short sleep.

* * *

THE JULY 26 DATE for convening Congress is known in Missouri as "Turnip Day"—a good time for sowing turnip seeds for harvesting later in the year, Mr. Truman explained.

Some of his advisers are recommending a personal appearance for him on Capitol Hill that day.

The president left the White House late yesterday to board a special train for Philadelphia, arrived there in the early evening and appeared on the convention platform to accept the party nomination in a stirring 1 a.m. address delivered "off the cuff."

Presidential Press Secretary Charles G. Ross told reporters on the trip President Truman will "do a lot of campaigning" for a four-year term in the presidency in his own right.

Samuel I. Rosenman, general counsel to both Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Truman, will act as adviser on the speeches.

Ross couldn't say whether the president will speak in the South, which sparked the unsuccessful "stop - Truman" movement and fought bitterly to the end against his civil rights proposals on the floor of the convention.

THE PRESIDENT, Ross said, will begin work soon on plans for campaign travels which will take him "into a considerable number" of the 48 states.

The only fixed engagements at this time are a flight to New York to help dedicate the new Idlewild Airport, July 31, and a trip to Independence to vote in the Missouri Democratic Primary in August.

Mr. Truman, Ross said, was "very much gratified" by his reception at Philadelphia.

Truman's Message To Congress

The whole Nation, we believe, will applaud the message of Pres. Turman in which he called upon legislators to keep faith with American people by acting speedily to stem the rising tide of inflation, to restore wage and price controls, and bring under control the skyrocketing prices in excess profits. "The battle against intlation," he warned solemnly," cannot wait until after the November election."

The President spoke in subdued tones but all he had to say was an outgrowth of the hopes and aspirations of American people, the common worker, the housewives who are bedeviled by inflationary prices on foods of all kinds, by the Negroes, who are affected not only by rising prices, scarcity of homes, but in addition, by the problem of insecurity of person through mob-violence, the Ku Klux Klan, vote denials and various other means of discrimination.

Properly, we think, the President asked the Congress to deal first with the universal plague of food prices, housing, wage controls and if necessary, rationing. In doing this, it does not mean that he intends to give his civil rights program a lesser place in the Congress. Mr. Truman we think, will follow through on each of these. That is as it should be. We also hope that tthe Congress will see the good judgment in taking prompt action in doing something definite and concrete about these specific problems now demanding a satisfactory solution.

Wed. 7-28-48 World, Atlanta, Ga.

There is no need for the do-nothing attitude taken by the 80th Congress toward our veterans and other citizens in the matter of homes for them. There is little, if any excuse, for the Congress to have taken off the ceiling on rent and price controls. The members of that 80th Congress have failed the American people on a great number of basic issues. To repeat those errors after being recalled by Mr. Truman will place them in a sorry position in which to make appeals to the voters in November. Whatever is done or not done the Republicans will have to take the credit for it, since they are the predominant group in the Congress.

Civil Rights and the Special Session

The Reporter
Fri 7-30-48

The special session gives the 80th Congress a third chance to fulfill the urgent needs of the American people. The Congress can now complete the business left unfinished on its calndar and make a genuine contribution to the freedom and equality of all Americans by enacting the pending civil rights legislation. At the same time the Congress can demonstrate to the American people that the civil rights pledges in the 1948 platforms, as well as the 1944 platforms, are not empty phrases and mere campaign promises.

San Francisco Calif

Specifically Congress can legislate:

1. Fair employment practice legislation. S. 984, a "National Act against discrimination in employment" which was sponsored in the 80th Congress by four Democratic and four Republican Senators, and has bi-partisan sponsorship in the House. In a democracy the right to earn a living without racial or religious discrimination is a prime essential.

2. Poll Tax. As a nation, we have urged citizens in other countries to vote in national elections. Yet, here at home we have denied to 10 million of our own citizens—6 million whites and 4 million Negroes, the right to exercise their franchise. Therefore, the Senate is urged to pass the Anti-Poll Tax Bill, H. R. 29 which has alrady been passed by the House.

3. Segregation in interstate transportation. The Powell bill to end segregation in interstate transportation has been introduced in the House. Americans must be able to travel anywhere in their country without himiliation.

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4. Lynching. Mor than 5000 persons have been lynched by mobs in America. Certain states have been neither willing nor able to punish lynchers. Federal action is imperative. We reject the Ferguson bill reported out by the Senate Judiciary Committee. We call upon the special session to enact an anti-lynching bill embodying the features including in the Case bill, now on the House calendar.

7-13-48

5. Displaced Persons. Recommend the passage of remedial amendments to the Displaced Persons Act that will increase the number of admissible DP's to 400,000, will eliminate the provisions that discriminate against Jews and Catholics and strike out conditions that are administratively unworkable.

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The nation calls upon the President, Harry S. Truman, and upon the titular head and presidential candidate of the Republican Party, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, to exert to the utmost their influence upon their parties to prevent any parliamentary or political trickery designed to sidetrack these guarantees of basic human rights and to see to it that these measures are enacted at this session of the Congress.

Special Boards To Plan Reform

Star 34 Tues.

Two executive orders designed to implement his civil rights program issued last night by President Truman on the eve of his special session appearance before Congress:

1. Declare it "the policy of the President that there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin." The order creates an "advisory committee" to work for realization of equality "as rapidly as possible . . . without impairing efficiency or morale."

2. Set up a "Fair Employment Board" within the Civil Service Commission to insure that "there shall be no discrimination because of race, color, religion or national origin" in the employment practices of the federal government.

What Is the Republican Strategy Going to Be?

Sun. 7-18-48

REPUBLICAN leaders are trying to figure out how to meet President TRUMAN's special session challenge. Various suggestions are heard, the most ignominious of which is that Congress simply meet in response to the call and then quickly adjourn. We doubt if such a cowardly retreat would please the country. The really effective answer to the President, of course, would be for Congress to do what he has dared it to do—that is, enact into law the measures which he has described as urgent and of which are promised, however vaguely, in the party's Philadelphia platform.

Inflation control, adequate housing and health legislation, increase of the minimum wage, extension of social security, expansion of public power, deodorization of the smelly D.P. bill adopted in early June, implementation of civil rights—all these were unfinished business at the time of the pell-mell adjournment of Congress just before the Republican National Convention. All except the B.P. bill are urged in the platform. If Congress were to go to work seriously and honestly on the subjects suggested by the President, the wind would be gone from his sails. If Congress stalls, if Congress backs and fills, Mr. TRUMAN will have the advantage he expects.

All of this will provide a severe test for Governor DEWEY. A Washington dispatch published yesterday quoted a source close to House Majority Leader HALLECK as saying that Republican Congressional policy will be developed only after full consultation with the Presidential nominee. Certainly Mr. Dewey will not be able to remain serenely aloof from the proceedings. As a public administrator, the New York Governor bears a high reputation for efficiency. As a dealer with Congress, he is wholly untried. He has had experience, of course, with his State legislature. But bossing one's party in a State legislature is not the same thing as bossing one's party in Congress. Both parties in Congress are considerably more complex than they are in the average State legislature. Gubernatorial control of a State legislature is no exceptional trick. We saw it done completely in Kentucky last winter. Presidential control of Congress is something else again.

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Thus we may have a preview of how Mr. DEWEY, if elected, would get along with Congress. Will he be able to lead such Neanderthal mossbacks as JOE MARTIN, CHARLIE HALLECK, JOHN TABER and HAROLD KNUTSON in the House? Can he make the WHERRYS and BROOKSES of the Senate see the light? Clockwork efficiency does not dazzle such men. In fact, they are suspicious of it. They live in the Nineteenth Century and want things done in the slow, old ways. Mr. DEWEY will have a task, if he hopes to bring these boys up to date.

Doubtless civil rights legislation will have a conspicuous place in the special session. Surely the Republicans cannot continue much longer to dodge this issue with unfulfilled platform promises. But we hope the issue, with all the bitterness and frenzy it arouses, will not dominate the session. Other substantial legislation should be on the agenda and ought not to be obscured. But, of course, anti-lynching and anti-poll tax bills should be passed. And with sufficient determination, the Republicans can invoke cloture in the Senate and pass them in both houses, as Mr. TRUMAN has said.

As for a fair employment practices bill, that is not specifically mentioned in the Republican platform. The platform says: "We favor the enactment and just enforcement of such Federal legislation as may be necessary to maintain this right (equal opportunity to work) at all times in every part of this Republic." No F.E.P.C. bill which we have seen gives any promise of achieving this desirable end, and we hope the Republicans will recognize the fact. If it were possible to devise the kind of legislation their platform describes, we'd be for them. But they set themselves a superhuman task.

G.O.P Congress Policy Spells Ten Months Delay

REPUBLICAN policy on the special session of Congress has apparently jelled. It takes the shape of a single word, a great big "No" to the entire program President TRUMAN has proposed. Senator WHERRY, Congressman HALLECK, and other die-hards among the Republican old guard are calling the signals for the session, and this is the strategy they have worked out: introduce a civil rights measure; provoke a Southern filibuster; let it run until it has thoroughly embarrassed the President and disgusted the nation; quickly adjourn, proclaiming that it is impossible to get constructive action with a Democrat in the White House with his party hopelessly divided.

This is the ideal formula for accomplishing nothing at the session. Is that smart politics? We cannot see how it can serve to win friends and influence voters. After all, the Republicans have a majority in both houses of Congress. Their projected policy amounts to an admission that they can do nothing or will do nothing for the benefit of the country with that congressional majority, until they can get their own man in the White House. They assume that there must be a paralysis of all political action until the country makes up its mind whether it wants a Republican or a Democrat for President.

This policy is wholly negative. It expresses itself in the Republican outcry that TRUMAN called the special session for political reasons only. Perhaps those were his sole reasons. Any session of Congress, however, certainly provides an opportunity for vigorous leadership to do something helpful for the nation. The Republican platform loudly proclaimed some of the things that need to be done. It is not just "politics" that millions of Americans are searching desperately for decent housing. It is not just "politics" that prices have hit their highest level on record and are undeniably pushing further upward. It is no answer to these intense problems to say that TRUMAN is playing politics in calling them to the attention of Congress.

Governor DEWEY will evidently take no responsibility for Republican leadership in the special session. He leaves the job to the old congressional hard-shells, the men who feel they should win wide public sympathy because they have to work in the heat of a Washington summer. The veteran looking for a house, the housewife straining hopelessly to supply food for her family at prices that constantly rise, will feel little sympathy for members of Congress who have to sweat out a summer session.

What these people want is action, now. They do not want to wait until next January for Congress even to start talking about these problems. They realize that congressional refusal to move now will represent no mere five month delay. Every bill considered by the present Congress will die this year and have to be brought up afresh in 1949. All the slow process of committee hearings will have to be undergone again, plus the inevitable delays that affect all legislation. Such measures as the TAFT-ELLENDER-WAGNER Housing Bill have already passed one house and have been through committee hearings in the other. They could get final passage in a week at the special session. If no action is taken now, such measures will be delayed not five months, but ten months. Will the American public stand for such obstruction?

19 Dixie Senators Vow Civil Rights Fight

WASHINGTON, July 26 (AP)—Nineteen southern senators promised today to "fight to the limit of our ability" against civil rights legislation.

Sen. Richard Russell (D., Ga.) made this announcement after a meeting which lasted more than an hour in the office of Sen. Harry F. Byrd (D., La.). Russell, who called the meeting, has been named chairman of the southern bloc. He told reporters:

"We are fixed in our purpose to fight to the limit of our ability to preserve the dual system government."

Russell said this represented the unanimous sentiment of the 19 senators who attended. Furthermore, he said that their pledge includes opposition to any bill that "invades the rights of states or tends to create a national police station in Washington."

A reporter asked whether the pledge meant that the southerners were prepared to filibuster against any civil rights bill. Russell replied that he didn't like the word filibuster but there would be "some speeches at length."

The Georgian said also that, as part of the strategy mapped out today, one or more Dixie senators will be on the senate floor during all sessions.

In reply to another question, Russell said he thinks that most of the group would vote to adjourn Congress immediately if such a resolution were offered.

Filibuster Rights Bill

Stennis Of Miss., Russell Of Ga. Spearhead Fight

WASHINGTON — (SNS) — Southern senators launched their slated filibuster Thursday, attempting to block consideration of the poll tax and other civil rights legislation.

As soon as Senator Wherry (Republican of Nebraska) moved to take up the House-passed anti-poll tax bill, Senator Stennis Democrat of Mississippi) got the floor and challenged the right of Congress to pass the bill. Stennis contended that the bill was unconstitutional.

Georgia's Senator Richard Russell was generalizing the Southern fight against the poll tax bill President Truman legislation. President Truman recommended that the rights legislation be passed.

OUTLAW PAYMENT

The antipoll tax legislation would out law payment of state poll taxes as a requirement for voting in federal elections. The House passed the measure in the first session.

Much of the other proposed legislation of the President was receiving the toss-around.

In the Senate, the Republicans did not appear unhappy over the filibuster, although they, too, are pledged to make into law civil rights proposals.

Dixie Senators Set to Block Racial Bills

Southerners Willing To Take Blame for Tieing Up Congress

By the United Press

Southern Democratic Senators, willing to take the blame for tieing up the special session of Congress, unlimbered yesterday for what may be a foolproof filibuster to bar passage of racial rights bills.

Republican leaders are ready to call up President Truman's racial rights proposals as the first order of business in the Senate. They have two reasons: to widen the political breach between the Administration and the Southern Democrats, and to saddle the Democrats with blame for blocking special session legislation.

The Southerners system is known as "amending the journal." At the beginning of each new legislative day, the journal of the previous day's proceedings comes up for approval. Senate rules provide that it must be gotten out of the way before any other business can come up.

Usually the journal is "dispensed with" by unanimous consent. But if someone wants to prevent certain legislation from coming up, he can demand that it be read in full, and then start amending it. There is no bar to the number or nature of amendments and debate on each amendment is unlimited.

About the only way to circumvent this "journal" talk-trap, according to parliamentary pundits, is for someone — presumably the GOP—to call up a civil rights bill before the Southerners get a chance to get going on the journal.

Once a motion is made to call up a bill, the Republicans can recess instead of adjourn the Senate each day until it is acted on. Most experts maintain that the journal does not have to be acted on unless the preceding "legislative day" is ended by adjournment.

Special Session: Dewey on Spot?

By Roscoe Drummond
Chief of the Washington News Bureau of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

The immediate and visible reaction to President Truman's summons of a special session of Congress July 26—he issued the call within 12 hours after returning from Philadelphia—is that he has won a significant political advantage.

He has seized the initiative, which was imperative if he was to make any real headway to redeem his popular standing.

He has galvanized voter interest in the coming election, and has made it almost certain that the central issues will be etched sharply, rather, than blurred, in the mind of the country.

He has established the feeling that he has at least a "fighting chance," and this was essential if he was to be able to rally his depressed and disconsolate Party leaders to go to work in his behalf.

But, in taking the initiative of bringing Congress back to Washington in another week, the President has accepted political liabilities as well. He already is the target of Democratic as well as Republican criticism. Some southern members of Congress already are serving notice that they will filibuster any attempt to put over civil rights legislation, and a prolonged filibuster almost inevitably would turn the special session into a futile and bitter wrangle.

The fate of President Truman's legislative program for the special session of Congress appeared to rest with four congressional committees.

These are the House and Senate Banking Committees and the House and Senate Labor Committees. They will handle most of the bills which the President has put on his "must" list, and they have the power to kill the measures without sending them to the floor for debate.

Facing the Banking Committees, headed by Senator Charles W. Tobey (R) of New Hampshire and Representative Jesse P. Wolcott (R) of Michigan, are proposals to halt rising prices and relieve the housing shortage.

Both Committees balked at all price legislation in the session which ended a month ago. It appeared unlikely that they would change their stand during the special session.

Mr. Walcott said he doubts that "anything constructive can come out of this special session." He added that the reasons for high prices will be brought out and Mr. Truman "will have a lot to answer for."

Bills Bogged Down

The Labor Committees, headed by Senator Robert A. Taft (R) of Ohio and Representative Fred A. Hartley, Jr., (R) of New Jersey, will be the first ones to consider the President's renewed appeals for a national health program, Federal aid to education, and a higher minimum wage.

The Senate passed in the last session a bill providing federal grants-in-aid to state for education, but it died in the House. Likewise, both a Democratic national health insurance measure and a Republican-sponsored aid-to-states health bill got Senate committee consideration, but no floor action.

On minimum wages, a Senate Labor subcommittee considered a Republican proposal to boost the minimum hourly wage from 40 to 60 cents an hour and a Democratic bill for a 75-cent minimum, plus broadened coverage.

The controversial long-range housing bill was bogged down in the House Rules Committee when the regular session concluded. House supporters of this Senate-approved bill said today they will resume their efforts to bring it out of the Rules Committee by petition.

Representative Jacob Javits (R) of New York said he has more than 70 per cent of the 218 signatures necessary to make the petition effective.

Alaskan Power Plan

Secretary of the Interior Julius A. Krug announced he will ask Congress to authorize Alaskan water power projects "at an early date."

Investigations are beginning now in the Territory for development of her rich water-power resources, Mr. Krug said.

"One of the most pressing" needs is a power development at Eklutna Lake to meet the requirements of Anchorage, the electric cooperatives in Matanuska Valley, the Alaskan Railway, and Indian service installations.

Other studies will include possible power sites at Sitka, Juneau, and Ketchikan, where power is needed to develop a pulp industry to ease the United States' newsprint shortage.

"It is proposed to present the first specific recommendations for the consideration of Congress at an early date," Mr. Krug said.

"A shortage of electric power now exists in most communities, and industrial expansion and settlement will be retarded until these shortages are eliminated and provision is made for increasing demands," he disclosed.

Anger, resentment, and, to a very substantial extent, concern, sum up the Republican response to Mr. Truman's decision. Representative Hugh Scott, new Chairman of the Republican National Committee, took the lead in declaring that he could not "credit" Mr. Truman "with any constructive purpose," and other GOP leaders went on to take up this vein of criticism with a rising crescendo of epithets.

But the very intensity of the Republican cries of "politics" suggests that they have been hit where it hurts most—namely, in the pit of differences between the GOP platform and the GOP record in Congress.

Bitter, Prolonged Fight In Prospect

WASHINGTON, D. C.— (NNPA) —The Special session of Congress, called by President Truman for July 26, could set off a bitter and prolonged fight over civil rights.

Three civil rights bills, which Southerners contend infringe upon states' rights, are ready for floor action.

The anti-poll tax bill passed the House a year ago. It has been approved by the Senate Rules and Administration Committee, and a motion for Senate consideration is in order.

Both the Ives Bill against discrimination in employment and an antilynching bill also are on the senate calendar and may be called up.

On the House side, the Case anti-lynching bill has been approved by the Judiciary Committee, but the Rules Committee has not yet given it a rule which would facilitate its consideration on the House floor. A special rule, however, can be easily reported, making anti-lynching an order of business and assuring its quick passage.

INACTION

The House Education and Labor Committee, however, has not yet acted on the companion measure to the Ives anti-discrimination in employment bill. House leadership has dodged action this on bill by claiming it was waiting for Senate action and, if the Senate passes the Ives bill, the companion House bill will be quickly brought out of committee and passed.

Senate Republican Policy Committee had planned to bring up the anti-poll bill after passage of the draft law, but the Senate ran behind schedule and it was considered useless to bring up the measure in the closing days of Congress.

If the anti-poll tax, the anti-discrimination in employment, or the anti-lynching bill is called up for Senate consideration, a fillibuster is bound to ensue. Senator Allen J. Ellender, Democrat, of Louisiana, already has announced that the him self will filibuster against any civil rights bill for at least fifty days. Other Southern Senators, embittered by adoption of a strong civil rights plank by the Democratic national convention in Philadelphia last week, are ready to filibuster against even a motion to take up any of these bills.

Race Clauses Subdued In Truman's Message

WASHINGTON, July 27.—(AP)—President Truman tossed his full civil rights program back to Congress today without singling out the racial measures against which Southern Democrats have pledged a "no surrender" fight.

In a sternly worded message to assembled house and senate members, the chief executive said enactment of the program he first outlined last February "is necessary to carry out our American ideals of liberty and justice for all."

And if his irate Dixie foes needed any fresh spur to anger, the President supplied it last night by ordering an "FEPC" for federal workers and an anti-discrimination drive in the armed forces.

The two executive orders were announced by the White House shortly after 19 senators from 11 southern states banded together for a last-ditch stand against the Truman program.

"We will never surrender," Senator Russell (D-Ga) said. The veteran Georgia law-maker who spoke for the group had been the choice of the Dixie rebels for president at the recent Democratic convention.

As for Mr. Truman's twin orders, Russell termed them an "unconditional surrender" to the Henry A. Wallace Progressive convention and to the threatened civil disobedience campaign against the draft by some Negro leaders.

The president noted in his message today that congressional committees have considered legislation to carry out some of his proposals but that only one has been approved. That lone measure was for settling the wartime evacuation claims of Japanese-Americans.

Of the others he said: "I believe that it is necessary to enact the law I have recommended in order to make the guarantees of the constitution real and vital."

Presidential Order Sets Up Government Workers' FEPC

By LEE NICHOLS
United Press Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, July 26.—President Truman Monday night issued a sweeping civil rights decree requiring equality of treatment of all men in the Nation's armed services and the enforcement of fairness among employes of Federal Government regardless of race.

His proclaamtion, however, did not call specifically for an end to racial segregation in the armed forces.

It simply declared it to be his policy that "there shall be equality of opoprtunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin."

Plans Special Committee

Mr. Truman ordered creation of a special committee within the military establishment to look into current racial rules and practices. The committee will recommend to him what it thinks should be done

to carry out the policy laid down in the proclamation.

The President prohibited racial or religious discrimination in the "persosnnel actions" of all Federal civil agencies.

He directed that a fair employment officer be named in each department to see that this policy is carried out, subject to the final decision of the department head.

An overall fair employment board is to be set up within the Civil Service Commission to lay down blanket antidiscrimination rules and to review decisions made by department heads.

Negro and many liberal and left-wing groups long have demanded an end to segregation of troops on a racial basis, now practiced chiefly by the Army. Secretary of Army Kenneth C. Royal has consistently refused to end segregation on the premises that mixing of races could destroy discipline.

Doesn't Bind Himself

Mr. Truman said he laid down the "equality of treatment" rule because it is "essential" that "the highest standards of democracy" be maintained in the armed forces.

He did not define what he meant by "equality," nor did he bind himself to accept the recommendations of the special committee, to be known as "the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services." He did not fix any time for the committee to report, but said it would continue in existence till no longer needed.

Capt. Robert Berry, persosnal public relations adviser to Defense Secretary James Forrestal, said Forrestal will "do all in his power to carry out the President's order."

Taft Says Some Action On Prices May Be Taken

But He Rules Out Price Control and Rationing And Says Congress Will Quit In About 2 Weeks

By the Associated Press.

Washington, July 28.—Senator Taft (R., Ohio) promised tonight that Congress will try to work out some cost-of-living curbs without resorting to "police-state methods."

But he declared flatly, "Price control and rationing will not work in America in time of peace."

And he said Congress was going to go home in about two weeks. As for himself, Taft said, "We would be fully justified in adjourning at once."

Taft and other G.O.P. leaders went on the air to answer President Truman's address to Congress yesterday. Congress itself plunged into a civil-rights battle that is bound to delay all legislation indefinitely.

Says Congress Aided Building.

Representative Halleck of Indiana, House majority leader, said the 80th Congress had generated a building boom by removing Government "red tape" and restrictions. When a Republican President is elected, Congress will do even better, Halleck said.

Senator Wherry of Nebraska said Congress was ready to consider favorably "any legislation found to be of an emergency character." Wherry made it clear he didn't think much of the proposals by Truman, who, he said, "is floundering in the quicksands of a ruined political fortune."

"It is appalling," Wherry said, "that on foreign policy the President was absolutely silent and not once did he mention the threat of communism at home."

Taft said it was difficult and dangerous to work out great public problems without the slightest co-operation from "a hostile President." The only way these problems can be solved, he said, is by the vote of the people at the November election.

Decided to Limit Session.

"We have determined, therefore, that this session should be lyimited to a short period of perhaps two weeks," he said.

During this period, the senator said, Congress will try to work out some method of controlling prices without resorting to what he called President Truman's "police-statae methods."

"The President's quarrel with the 80th Congress," Taft said, "is not its failure to enact legislation, but a fundamental difference in government philosophy between the President and Congress.

Compromise Idea Fails to Head Off Fight On Poll Tax

Constitutional Amendment Is Approved By Southerners, But G.O.P. Rejects Peace Move

From Wire Dispatches.

Washington, July 28.—A peace move blew sky-high tonight and Republican senators repeated their determination to call up the anti-poll-tax bill tomorrow. Southern opponents of the measure automatically responded, "Filibuster coming up!"

Climaxing a series of formal conferences and informal cloakroom huddles by both sides, Senator Taft of Ohio, the Republican policy chief, announced, "We will take up the poll-tax bill tomorrow, as is."

That mean a suggested compromise—a proposed constitutional amendment, rather than a bill, to outlaw the poll tax—was tossed into the discards. It had been suggested by Senator Hayden (D., Ariz.) as a solution of the problem, and for a while it appeared to have a chance of approval.

Republicans Reject Conditions.

The Southerners, led by Senator Russell (D., Ga.), were willing to accept the compromise—provided the Republicans would agree not to call up any further items on President Truman's civil-rights program, such as the antilynching bill and a measure barring racial or religious discrimination in employment.

The Republicans, however, evidently were unwilling to bind themselves to such a course. And some of the Southerners were wary of the constitutional-amendment plan. They pointed out that eventually a Senate-House conference committee might return it to them amended to conform to the House-approved anti-poll-tax bill.

Taft noted that a constitutional amendment requires ratification by three fourths of the states, and pointed out that 13 states could block its adoption.

Stennis to Lead Off.

As plans stood tonight, acting Republican floor leader Wherry of Nebraska will move as soon as the Senate meets tomorrow to displace a minor aviation bill with the anti-poll-tax measure. Wherry's motion will be subject to full debate. Senator Stennis (D., Miss.) will lead off the opposition. As a first-term senator he could be classified as a rookie filibusterer, but there are no other pairs of stout lungs on his team.

There were indications that the forensics would be adapted to the sluggish tempo of the steaming Washington summer. Taft said tomorrow's debate probably would run only to 5 p.m. and that the same pattern would be followed the rest of the week. "The Southerners are entitled to a reasonable time for debate," he explained.

Maybank Confident.

No Southern senator could be found who would dispute that a 6-hour talking day was reasonable. However, Taft did not extend his 30-hour-week proposal beyond this week. He declared, "We'll exhaust every parliamentary effort" to pass the bill. At the same time he acknowledged it would be difficult to beat a determined filibuster. Russell's group includes 21 men from 11 Southern states.

Senator Maybank (D., S. C.) said he was confident the Southerners would win.

"We'll stay on the floor and fight to the end of the session," he said. "Some of us will be there all the time to talk against civil-rights proposals."

Will Share Responsibility.

Governor Thomas E. Dewey is ready to join Republican Congressional leaders in steering the party's course during the special session, it was learned tonight.

The Republican presidential candidate has abandoned a hands-off policy and will assume his share of responsibility for G.O.P. Congressional action. His activities will be confined to behind-the-scenes advice.

"The Governor has no intentions of attempting to tell Congressional leaders what to do, but he is ready to assume his full share of the party's Congressional activities," an aide said.

Opposes Federal Control.

During today's Senate debate Russell said the South had no objection to a constitutional amendment which would wipe out the poll tax. What Southerners do object to, he said, is Congress' making rules for State and local elections.

Federal control at the voting booth, Russell declared, would enable "the Henry Wallace crowd" to keep themselves in power indefinitely if they ever got in power.

"It is ironical," he said, "to have this bill proposed under the guise of civil rights at a time when emissaries of the Kremlin seem to have seized a political party in this country."

to get at the facts and deal with them as Americans interested in a common cause."

Will Start Hearings.

Another Dixie legislator, Senator Olin D. Johnston (D., S. C.), introduced a resolution calling on too late," Congress to quit next Saturday stringent methods of halting inflation by voluntary methods." A resolution calling for an investigation of meat prices was introduced by Senator Baldwin (R., Conn.). Referring to the Onetime O.P.A. Administrator Paul Porter is scheduled to be the committee's first witness.

Tobey said, "more to submit "practical plans to curb other measures turned down by the G.O.P. leadership last night.

"Unless the

Senator Tobey (R., N. H.), chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, invited producers, hearings tomorrow on Truman's cost-of-living proposals, which is expected to start President's call for a special session, Baldwin said in a floor speech:

"It is tragic to make a political price controls, stand-by out of this session," he declared.

manufacturers, and distributors include price controls and wage controls, and football of this problem. We need rationing and

34 1948

Congress (Special Session)

Dixie 'Adjourn' Move Dies; GOP Inflation Bill Drawn

The Constitution

COMBINED FROM

A move by rebellious Southern Democrats to adjourn the special session of Congress on Wednesday was defeated tonight as the GOP congressional high command drew the outlines of a Republican anti-inflation program, flatly rejecting most of President Truman's proposals.

The proposal to go home was sponsored by Sen. Olin D. Johnston, Democrat, South Carolina. It was defeated, 58 to 13, after the Southerners had scored a major victory in their fight against President Truman's civil rights legislation.

The triumph came when Senate Republican leaders, with some Northern Democratic support, failed to break a filibuster against the anti-poll tax bill.

Although all 13 senators voting in favor of Johnston's adjournment motion were Southerners, five other Dixie members supporting the anti-poll tax filibuster refused to support it.

They were Sens. Clyde R. Hoey, North Carolina; Tom Connally, Texas; William B. Umsted, North Carolina; Allen J. Ellender, Louisiana ,and A. Willis Robertson, Virginia.

Sen. Claude Pepper, Democrat, Florida, voted against adjournment but he is not co-operating with the other Southerners in the filibuster.

Johnston, a leader of the anti-Trumanites, urged the Senate to adjourn because, he said, it had become apparent "nothing worthwhile can be accomplished here."

GOP chieftains sought to smash the three-day Dixie talkathon by invoking cloture, or limitation of debate, but Senate Pres. Vandenberg, to his "very great embarrassment," ruled them out of order.

Pepper tried late today to shut off the Dixie filibuster against the anti-poll tax bill.

He recalled that the legislation before the Senate is a long-pending aviation bill. Pepper offered the anti-poll tax bill as an amendment to the aviation bill. In effect the anti-poll tax bill would be substituted for the aviation bill.

The Floridian argued that any motion to limit debate on such an amendment would be in order under the rules of the Senate.

Chairman Wolcott, Republican, Michigan, of the House Banking Committee, told reporters he probably would introduce the Republican anti-inflation bill on Wednesday.

The GOP program, in a preliminary stage and not formally announced, was reported to include:

1. Legislation to tighten bank credit by increasing bank reserve requirements.

2. A housing bill that would (a) re-enact the so-called "Title 6" under which the government insures mortgages on new dwellings; (b) legislation giving investors in rental property tax savings by increasing the rate of depreciation of the property; and (c) yield insurance, guaranteeing a profit for investors in large rental properties.

The housing bills, eliminating the controversial Federal low-rent and slum clearance, passed the House during the regular session and is pending in the Senate.

Mr. Truman has asked for that measure, with the subsidized housing feature back in it, along with price and rationing controls, and a multibillion-dollar excess profits tax.

The Republican program outline was drawn at a meeting of House Speaker Martin, Sen. Taft of Ohio, House Republican Leader Halleck, of Indiana, and Wolcott.

Civil Rights Peace Step Blown Up

The Advertiser Montgomery Ala Thurs. 7-29-48

GOP Senators Reiterate Intentions To Call Up Anti-Poll Tax Plans

'Filibuster Ahead'

Constitutional Change Thrown Out Window; Taft Doesn't Like It

WASHINGTON —(AP)—A peace move blew sky-high Wednesday night and Republican Senators repeated their determination to call up the anti-poll tax bill today. Southern opponents of the measure automatically responded: "Fillibuster coming up!"

Climaxing a series of formal conferences and informal cloakroom huddles by both sides, Senator Taft of Ohio, the Republican policy chief bluntly announced.

"We will take up the poll tax bill tomorrow, as is."

That meant that a suggested compromise — a proposed constitutional amendment, rather than a bill, to outlaw the poll tax —was tossed into the discard. It had been suggested by Senator Hayden, (D), Arizona, as a solution of the problem, and for a while it appeared to have a chance of approval.

The Southerners, led by Senator Russell, (D), Georgia, were willing to accept the compromise —povided the Republicans would agree not to call up any further items on President Truman's civil rights program, such as the anti-lynching bill and a measure barring racial or religious discrimination in employment.

The Advertiser

GOP Unwilling

The Republicans, however, evidently were unwilling to bind themselves to such a course, and some of the Southerners were wary of the constitutional amendment plan. They pointed out that eventually a Senate-House conference committee might return it to them amended to conform to the House approved anti-poll tax bill.

Montgomery, Ala

Taft noted that a constitutional amendment requires ratification by three-fourths of the states, and pointed out that 13 states could block its adoption.

Thurs

As plans stood Wednesday night, acting Republican Floor Leader Wherry of Nebraska will move as soon as the Senate Senate meets today (10 a.m. Montgomery time) to displace a minor aviation bill with the anti-poll tax measure. Wherry's motion will be subject to full debate. Senator Stennis, (D), Mississippi, will lead off the opposition. As a first term senator he could be classified as a rookie filibusterer. but there are 20 other pairs of stout lungs on his team.

The Advertiser

There were indications that the forensics would be adapted to the sluggish tempo of the steaming Washington Summer. Taft said today's debate probably will run only to 5 p.m. and that the same pattern will be followed the rest of the week.

Hard To Beat Filibuster

"The Southerners are entitled to reasonable time for debate," he explained.

No Southern senator could be found who would dispute that a six-hour talking day was reasonable indeed. However, Taft did not extend his 30-hour-week proposal beyond this week, and declared "we'll exhaust every parliamentary effort" to pass the bill.

Montgomery Ala

At the same time, he acknowledged it would be very difficult to beat a determined filibuster supported by 20 senators. Russell's group includes 21 men from 11 southern states.

News

Senator Maybank, (D), South Carolina, said he was confident the Southerners would win.

"We'll stay on the floor and fight to the end of the session," he said. "Some of us will be there all the time to talk against civil rights proposals."

Senator Hoey, (D), North Carolina, also discussed candidly the prospects of a filibuster. He even used the word, avoided by most of the Dixie bloc.

7-29-48

Russell told the Senate it is "sheer poppycock and political baloney" to say his group is battling for the poll tax as such. He said that what they are trying to do is to prevent federal control of state and local elections.

If the bill prohibiting poll taxes is pushed, he warned, "we shall resist it so long as we have the power to resist under the rules here on this floor."

Off the floor, Russell told reporters there would be no filibuster if the constitutional amendment proposal were put forward. He also predicted that a majority of the Southern senators would vote for it.

TRUMAN SEEN GAINING IN CIVIL RIGHTS FIGHT

Although His Program Seems Doomed He May Win Political Support

By WILLIAM THE Northerners. The intellectual ar-

SPECIAL TO

WASHINGTON, July 31 — The Southern filibuster on the anti-poll tax bill has carried Washington back through the historical dusts of nearly a century to the spirit of the most mortal controversy that ever engaged the United States.

The issue in the so-called "civil rights" program is what, with perfect accuracy on each side, is

called "states' rights" by the Southerners and "human rights" by the

guments on either hand, as distinguished from the vote-catching aspects from which some on either side have profited for years, are basically those that rent the United States in the period just before the War Between the States.

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Curb for Fillbuster

One of the iropies of the situation is notable. The Northerners, in taking the view that the civil rights" program would unquestion-

a constitutional amend-rights, will certainly move next January to abridge the old right of limitless Senatorial debate. This

built by a state

its elections, it

tect minority speakers and minority views, is being lost by the Southerners in demanding the right of a Southern majority to maintain its social taboos.

Mr. Truman's civil rights program, meanwhile, is plainly paralyzed until some time next year. Not all of it is likely to get through Congress even then, and especially not the Fair Employment Practices Act, which is bitterly opposed by many Northerners as an unfair abridgement upon management's hiring rights.

If and when it does all get through Congress, its early operation will no doubt be halting and exploratory. Eventually it is intended to do these things:

(1) To remove all monetary tests, however minor, to the right to vote. This would mean a considerably more popular vote in the South.

(2) To forbid discrimination against men and women in hunting jobs, a discrimination falling largely upon one race and two religious groups: the Negroes, the Jews in some anti-Semitic communities, and the Catholics in some anti-Catholic and anti-clerical communities.

(3) To put Negroes in the armed forces on the same footing as whites. This would mean, eventually, the advancement of many Negroes to high military rank.

(4) To provide Federal prosecutions and Federal punishments for what would be a uniquely defined crime—lynching.

(5) To end all arrangements whereby whites act in concert to bar Negroes from a neighborhood or an area.

Two Major Problems

It is commonly believed here, on both sides of the controversy, that the hardest of these reforms to put into effect would be the fair employment and anti-segregation items.

Politically, the general opinion in Washington is that President Truman stands to gain somewhat from having urged this program in the teeth of the Southern rebellion.

This is so in spite of the paradoxical fact that it is a part of the Democratic party—the Southern part—that clearly must bear the responsibility for inaction at this session. The general view is that the more the President's break with the Southern irreconcilables is dramatized, the better off he will be in the vastly more populous areas elsewhere. True, it is quite obvious that Mr. Truman is going to lose some Southern votes.

His advisers, however, confidently expect the great bulk of the Confederate South, and especially the more electorally important Southern states, to stay Democratic in November.

DIXIE SENATORS WIN MAJOR ROUND

Vandenberg Rules Cloture Out; Talks Go on

(The Associated Press)

Washington, Aug. 2. — Filibustering Dixie senators won a major round today in their effort to talk the anti-poll tax bill to death.

The presiding officer, Senator Vandenberg, R., Mich., decided that an effort to curb the debate was in conflict with Senate rules, and so the talkathon continued.

It was highly doubtful whether the Senate would reach a vote at this extra session on the bill to outlaw the poll tax as a qualification for voting.

The situation was this:

Last Wednesday, Senator Wherry, R., Neb., made a motion to take up the bill, which is part of President Truman's civil rights program.

Southerners immediately started a filibuster against the motion, and since then the Senate has been tied up in knots.

Today Wherry proposed that the Senate invoke "cloture," which would limit each senator to one hours' talk. Wherry's proposal would have required a two thirds vote to become effective.

But it never got to a vote. Vandenberg ruled it out of order.

He did so reluctantly, he said, because he personally favors the anti-poll tax bill. Moreover, he added, Senate rules should permit a curb on debate in such cases. But the fact is, he declared, that they do not.

He said it seemed plain to him that when the Senate adopted its rules about cloture in 1917, it meant that they should apply to pending bills, not to pending motions.

And the matter pending before the Senate today was a motion—to take up the anti-poll tax bill—and not a bill.

"In the final analysis," Vandenberg said, "the Senate has no effective cloture rules at all."

A few senators "have it in their power to prevent Senate action on anything."

Vandenberg invited any senator to appeal his ruling to the chamber at large. Senator Taft, R., Ohio, immediately did so.

But Senator Robertson, D., Va., launched a speech against Taft's appeal.

He said passage of the poll tax bill would help submerge the sovereignty of the states in an overpowering central government.

The bill, he said, is unconstitutional, unnecessary and undesirable.

Only seven states now require their people to pay the tax in order to vote, he said, and in several of these states movements are underway to repeal the levy.

And Now The Fight Begins

By JAMES MARLOW

PHILADELPHIA, July 16—(AP)—President Truman has opened his campaign for the presidency with a sharp, tough, fighting challenge to the Republicans to stand and deliver.

He did it in his speech to the Democratic convention, accepting the presidential nomination.

Right at the end of his speech he announced that he is calling the Republican - controlled Congress back into special session July 26. That means this:

* * *

1. HE'S GOING TO ASK Congress to pass certain laws, such as those aimed at controlling the cost of living.

2. But most of what he said he'll ask for is something which the Republicans—in their own 1948 platform worked out here three weeks ago—also says needs to be done or studied.

3. That will put the Republicans on the spot of having to deliver on their platform promises which they made in an attempt to win the elections in November.

But before looking any further into Mr. Truman's attempt to put the Republicans over a barrel, this is something to remember as the political campaigns get under way:

In his speech he clearly outlined the Democratic Party's campaign tactics in trying to win the presidency and control of Congress:

* * *

1. CLAIM CREDIT FOR THE Democratic Party for all the good things Congress and the government have done since Franklin D. Roosevelt became president in 1933.

2. Attack the present Republican-controlled Congress as a do-nothing — or do-badly — friend of the rich; and blame it for the things left undone.

Here's an example of what you'll be hearing about No. 1:

Mr. Truman pointed to the tremendous rise in the earnings of workers and farmers since 1932 and said both groups would be "ungrateful" if they didn't vote for his Democratic Party.

Here are examples of No. 2:

1. The high cost of living and the end of OPA and price control. Mr. Truman blamed them on the present Republican Congress. In the special session he's going to ask Congress to do something about stopping inflation.

(In their 1948 platform the Republicans "pledge an attack upon the basic cause of inflation.")

2. Mr. Truman blamed this Congress for failing to pass a strong federal housing bill to wipe out slums and provide low-cost rentals. He said he will ask the special session to act to lower housing prices.

* * *

THIS CONGRESS, JUST before it quit in June, did pass a housing bill. But Mr. Truman said this is worthless.

The Republican platform says the government "can and should encourage the building of better homes at less cost" and "recommends federal aid to the states for local slum clearance and low-rental housing programs" when private enterprise can't do the job.

3. Mr. Truman blamed this Congress for failing to pass a health program that would provide more medical care. So, he said, he'll ask the special session to do that.

The Republican platform says the Republicans "urge" strengthening of federal-state programs to provide more medical care.

4. Mr. Truman blamed this Congress for not passing a law that would bring more people within the benefits of social security. Further, he said, Congress actually knocked 750,000 people out from under the protection of social security. So, he said he will ask Congress to bring more people under social security.

The Republican platform says the Republicans are for widening social security benefits.

5. Federal aid to education. Mr. Truman blamed Congress for not voting such help. He had asked it to vote $300,000,000 in federal money to give that kind of aid. So he's going to ask for federal aid to education.

The Republican platform plank on education says "we favor equality of educational opportunity for all and the promotion of education and educational facilities."

Mr. Truman blamed this Congress for not acting on the civil rights program he recommended to it last February. That program included an anti-lynching law, a law wiping out the poll tax, and other things. Such a program would have helped Negroes mostly, and mostly in the South. So he'll ask for action by the special session on civil rights.

* * *

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM calls for "prompt enactment" of a law to stop lynching, an end to the poll tax and other things.

Those are most of the main points in the campaign outline Mr. Truman gave early today and the problems he's going to drop in the lap of the Republican Congress before the November elections.

If the Republican Congress does not act on his recommendations—which will be in some ways in line with their own platform promises or states—he'll certainly use the failure as ammunition for his political campaign against them. If it does, he'll claim the credit for having called them back to work.

Dixie Senators Win Big Round In Their 'Talk'

Vandenberg Says Senate Has No Effective Rule To Limit Such Debate

WASHINGTON — (AP) — Filibustering Dixie senators won a major round Monday, in their effort to talk the anti-poll tax bill to death.

The presiding officer, Senator Vandenberg (R), Michigan, decided that an effort to curb the debate was in conflict with Senate rules, and so the talkathon continued.

It was highly doubtful whether the Senate would reach a vote at this extra session on the bill to outlaw the poll tax as a qualification for voting.

The situation was this:

Last Wednesday, Senator Wherry (R), Nebraska, made a motion to take up the bill, which is part of President Truman's civil rights program.

Southerners immediately started a filibuster against the motion, and since then the Senate has been tied up in knots.

Rules It Out

Wherry proposed Monday, that the Senate invoke "cloiture," which would limit each senator to one hour's talk. Wherry's proposal would have required a two-thirds vote to become effective.

But it never got to a vote. Vandenberg ruled it out of order.

He did so, reluctantly, he said, because he personally favors the anti-poll tax bill. Moreover, he added, Senate rules should permit a curb on debate in such cases. But the fact is, he declared, that they do not.

He said it seemed plain to him that when the Senate adopted its rules about cloiture in 1917, it meant that they should apply to pending bills, not to pending motions.

And the matter pending before the Senate Monday, was a motion—to take up the anti-poll tax bill—and not a bill.

"No Rules At All"

"In the final anlysis," Vandenberg said, "the Senate has no effective cloiture rules at all."

A few senators "have it in their power to prevent Senate action on anything."

Vandenberg invited any senator to appeal his ruling to the chamber at large. Senator Taft (R), Ohio, immediately did so.

But Senator Robertson (D), Virginia, launched a speech against Taft's appeal.

He said passage of the poll tax bill would help submerge the sovereignty of the states in an overpowering central government.

The bill, he said, is unconstitutional, unnecessary and undesirable.

Costs, Houses And Poll Tax to Be Taken Up

Republicans See Political Maneuver

Issue a Reply to Truman, Drawn by Taft After Discussion With Dewey

By Jack Steele

WASHINGTON, July 27.—Republican Congressional leaders agreed tonight, after consulting Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York, the party's Presidential nominee, to wind up the special session within two weeks after taking up only three proposed measures—the anti-poll tax, anti-inflation and housing legislation.

The House-Senate leaders announced their decision in a caustically worded statement denouncing President Truman's call of the special session "solely as a political maneuver" and declaring that "serious legislative problems cannot be satisfactorily handled in the midst of a political campaign."

The Congressional chieftains pledged specifically only to seek enactment of the anti-poll tax bill—one of the three major items in the President's civil rights program. The bill has already passed the House but faces a certain Senate filibuster by Southern Democrats—a blockade the Republicans have little hope of breaking in the brief span allotted for the special session.

Reject Price, Controls

They served notice that, while they would consider the President's anti-inflation and housing proposals, they would neither give him power to restore price controls and rationing nor attempt to enact a long-range housing program such as is proposed in the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill.

They dismissed the other eight items in the eleven-point legislative program handed to them by Mr. Truman earlier in the day, branding most of them as measures which the New Deal had failed to pass in the fourteen years it ruled Washington and is now trying to get the Republicans to enact in a brief special session.

"We do not intend to consider routine legislation or open the Pandora's box to the legislative calendar," they declared in brushing off these Presidential proposals.

As a result of these decisions—which remain only to be ratified by the Senate and House Republican conferences — it appeared highly doubtful tonight that any major legislation will be adopted at the special session.

The decisions were announced in a 1,000-word statement drafted

by Senator Robert A. Taft, of Ohio, and approved by an informal "joint steering committee" composed of Senate and House Republican leaders.

Leaders in Disagreement

They followed an all-afternoon series of conferences in which these leaders sharply disagreed over what would be the best political strategy—to adjourn Congress immediately or meet for a week or two to make some sort of answer to the President's charges and challenge.

Governor Dewey's part in the final decisions was a disputed point tonight.

Senator Taft said Governor Dewey had been "consulted" but hrad made no "recommendations."

Senator Edward V. Robertson, of Wyoming, quoted Senator Taft as informing the Senate Policy Committee that Governor Dewey wanted Congress to remain in session for at least a week or ten days to consider the President's proposals.

James C. Hagerty, executive assistant to Governor Dewey, issued this further explanation tonight at Pawling, N. Y.:

"The Governor feels that the Congress should stay in Washington and give careful consideration to whatever was proposed in the President's message."

Mr. Hagerty said Governor Dewey had discussed the situation by telephone with Senators Taft and Arthur H. Vandenberg, of Michigan, president pro tempore of the Senate, and House Speaker Joseph W. Martin jr., of Massachusetts, and House Majority Leader Charles A. Halleck, of Indiana.

Taft Backs Dewey Stand

Senator Taft, as chairman of the Senate policy committee, took much the same stand as Governor Dewey, urging his colleagues to keep Congress in session long enough to review the President's major proposals and, if they decided to do nothing about them make their position clear "in the record."

Senator Robertson, on the other hand, led a group of Republicans up for re-election this fall who proposed that the special session be treated as purely a political gesture by the President and be adjourned immediately.

The Republican policy-makers set no precise limit on the time of the session, but said they would ben every effort to complete it "as soon as possible" and certainly within the fifteen-day limit suggested by the President himself.

With two days of the session already expired, this would apparently mean adiournment within less than two weeks.

The day's fast-moving and tangled events left Congress facing this legislative situation tonight:

1. The anti-poll tax bill will be "moved" in the Senate tomorrow or Thursday—but may not actually reach the floor, with southern Democrats reportedly prepared to filibuster against the motion to consider the bill rather than the bill itself.

Under Senate rules cloture (limitaton of debate) may not be applied to a motion to bring a bill to the floor. Senator Vandenberg reportedly informed his colleagues today that he would be forced to rule, in keeping with many precedents, that a cloture motion would be out of order in such circumstances.

May Let Dixie Democrats Talk

Hence the Southern Democrats will apparently be in a position to filibuster the anti-poll tax bill until the snow flies—if necessary—to block it from reaching the Senate floor.

Senator Taft hinted that the Republican strategy might be simply to let the Dixie Democrats talk on—and then blame the Democratic party fo rthe inability of Congress to enact any civil rights legislation.

He noted that the filibuster could be interrupted at any time if anti-inflation or other legislation were ready to be sent to the Senate floor.

2. While the Senate goes through this maneuvering, the Senate and House Banking Committees will meet on Thursday to take up once more the President's anti-inflation and housing recommendations.

It will be going back over ground familiar to both committees, since they have already considered almost identical suggestions laid down by Mr. Truman in his message to another special session last November.

The House-Senate Republican leaders, in their policy statement tonight, made it quite clear that their committees are not expected to do much more about the President's recommendations now than they did during the recent session or the special session last year.

As for anti-inflation measures, the leaders declared that the committees would review his proposals "to determine whether there are any additional powers which might be helpful in dealing with high prices, and which the Executive does not already have." Then they added:

"It is our belief that the restoration of O. P. A., subsidies, price control and rationing, the police state methods decried by President Truman himself, would only make the situation worse, create black markets and check the increase in production which is the only ultimate solution.

Say President Has Powers

"The President already has wide powers to check inflation if he were willing to use them. He has power to cut the amount of government spending in many fields, to limit government purchasing in those fields where commodities are short, to limit bank credit and limit consumer credit."

This brushed aside almost in toto the anti-inflation measures proposed by Mr. Truman in his message today.

He Republican leaders dismissed the President's demand for new housing legislation even more summarily.

They declared that, thanks to the stimulation provided by legislation adopted by the eightieth Congress, more than a million dwelling units would be built this year—virtually exhausting the supplies of material and labor.

"We are deeply concerned with a long-range program increasing still further the number of homes to be constructed," they added, "but such a program involves serious complications and differences of opinion which cannot be dealt with adequately at this special session."

They likewise dismissed most of the President's other proposals as "social welfare" legislation of a permanent nature "which can be considered more thoroughly next winter."

The statement will be presented to the Senate Republican conference at 9 a. m. tomorrow and before the House conference at 2 p. m. Thursday. Both conferences, composed of all Republican members of the respective chambers are expected to approve it as a matter of routine.

ImmediatePriceControls Mark Truman Program

WASHINGTON, July 27 (AP).—A demand for immediate—rather than stand-by—price controls marks the major difference between President Truman's new cost-of-living program and the one he submitted to another special session last Nov. 17.

The President added one anti-inflation step today—an excess-profits tax. But, while he did not request it in November, he included it in a later message to Congress.

SOUTHERNERS WIN IN POLL TAX FIGHT; CREDIT CURBS GAIN

REPUBLICANS YIELD

Promise Senate Rules Change Next Session to Curb Filibusters

LIMIT AGENDA TO WIND UP

Bank, Consumer, Slim Housing and U. N. Bills Set—Democrats Doubtful of All Else

By WILLIAM S. WHITE
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 4—The Senate Republicans surrendered formally to the entrenched Southerners today and put aside the anti-poll-tax bill for the remainder of the Congress session now expected to end next Tuesday or Wednesday.

It will close with action only on fragments of the eleven major legislative programs submitted by President Truman after he convoked the extra session on July 26. The Republican leaders now have only this limited agenda in hand:

1. Restoration of controls on consumed instalment buying and restrictions on bank loans to be brought about by requiring the banks to increase their cash reserves. A bill to this effect was approved tonight by the House Banking Committee. It is scheduled to be cleared tomorrow by the Senate Banking Committee and to reach the floor Friday. Price controls and rationing are not touched.

2. New housing legislation which will not touch upon public housing, and probably not on slum clearance. A measure tentatively approved by a joint Senate-House subcommittee would not extend beyond giving credit incentives to private builders of low-cost homes. The Senate side of the subcommittee got provisional acceptance of a $5,000,000 slum clearance program, but this is likely to fail in the House.

3. Final Congressional approval of the $65,000,000 loan which the United States is committed to make to the United Nations for building its permanent headquarters in New York.

Among the matters not wholly abandoned, but left to a very uncertain prospect, was President Truman's request for a liberalization of a measure admitting displaced persons which he has asserted was anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic. Senate leaders declared action on it most unlikely.

WHITE DENOUNCES FAILURE
TO PASS RIGHTS MEASURES August 5, 1948

NEW YORK, Aug. 5.-- Failure of the Special Session of Congress to pass the anti-poll tax bill or enact any civil rights legislation in the face of the southern filibuster was characterized by Walter White, NAACP secretary as an "abject and unnecessary surrender to reaction and defeatism." Press Service of NAACP

On his return to New York today after spending the major part of his time in Washington during the special session, Mr. White denounced the "scuttling of the civil rights program by Dixiecrats with the aid of the Republicans who refused to accept their responsibility, as the majority party, of keeping the Senate in continuous sessions in a genuine effort to break the southern blockade." New York, N.Y.

Mr. White warned that the proposal to amend the Senate rules to permit cloture on all business before the Senate would be ineffective unless accompanied by the provision that cloture may be invoked by a majority vote rather than the two-thirds now required. He urged all NAACP branches and other organized groups to obtain written commitments from all senatorial candidates that they will vote for amendment of the Senate rules to permit cloture on all matters before the Senate on majority vote. Similar commitments, he said, should be demanded also of all incumbent senators. Fri. 8-5-48

Dixie 'Educational Campaign' On Poll Tax Bill Is Opened

Advertiser

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Freshman Senator Stennis Is First Instructor; Stewart Doesn't Finish; To Talk Today

Montgomery, Ala.

By FRANCIS J. KELLY

WASHINGTON — (AP) — Southern Democratic senators Thursday opened the "educational campaign" against a bill to outlaw the poll tax. To the crowds in the Senate gallery, their curriculum looked mighty like [illegible] buster

Only two of the 21 Sout[illegible] who are lined up against t[illegible] spoke on the opening day. [illegible]ne of them didn't get through and will clean up some odds and ends today.

Senator Stennis, of Mississippi, teed off against the measure as an invasion of rights reserved to the states under the Constitution.

He took the floor at 10:55 a.m. (Montgomery time), immediately after Senator Wherry (R), Nebraska moved to take up the bill. Wherry's motion was debatable, and the Southerners' strategy is to keep the debate geared to that motion. By doing so, they believe they can forestall a vote on actually bringing the bill itself before the Senate. They can't count enough votes to beat such a motion.

Parliamentarians have held that the Senate's cloture or debate limitation rule cannot be applied against a motion.

Talks About Bill

Stennis did not filibuster in the usual sense. He confined his two-[illegible] speech strictly to the bill, [illegible] himself no oratorical [illegible] to discussions of pot[illegible] geography or family history [illegible] had been the case with some filibusterers in the past.

On the contrary, Stennis examined the bill—already passed by the House—which says that no one voting in an election for federal officers first shall be required to pay a poll tax. Eight states, seven of which are in the South, now have such a requirement. Fri. 7-30-48

The Mississippian said his stand is this:

"Congress has no power under our constitution to say what shall, or shall not, be the qualifications for voters, because the people have placed that power elsewhere under the very terms of the United States Constitution."

He also said that if the bill became law, a precedent would be established under which a bare majority of Congress could prescribe the qualifications of the voters who elect the members of Congress. Fri. 7-30-48

Jenner Interrupts

Senator Jenner (R), Indiana, got the floor at the conclusion of Stennis' speech, for an attack on crop control policies of the Department of Agriculture.

Senator Stewart (D), Tennessee, resumed for the Southerners at 2:44 p.m. Like Stennis, Stewart argued that the bill is unconstitutional. Fri.

"If the national government can do away with the poll tax in the states," he said, "then it can change the age limit of an elector and the residential requirements also—and it could like wise require that female voters pay a poll tax and that male voters be exempt therefrom." 7-30-48

Although the galleries were bulging, at one point during Stewart's speech there was only one Republican senator on the floor—Moore, of Oklahoma.

After an hour and a half, Stewart ran out of material at his desk and asked unanimous consent to continue his remarks today.

Obligingly, the Republicans agreed, and the Senate recessed at 3:14 p.m. until 10 a.m. (CST) today.

anti-Communist deputy chief, has set up headquarters in the American sector and issued a statement to Berlin police that only his orders are binding.

In the Soviet sector, Paul Markgraf, Moscow-trained former German war hero, did the same thing. He said he had Soviet Army backing and would carry out Russian orders to fire Stumm.

The city government fired Markgraf three days ago. He was accused of abducting Berliners and purging the police force of anti-Communists. Wednesday the 61-year-old woman mayor of Berlin, Mrs. Louise Schroeder, defied a Soviet order to dismiss Stumm. Backed by the three western commandants, she told the Russians that Berlin was under four-power rule and she could not obey a one-power command.

Southerners Win Victory In Senate; Poll Tax Bill Snubbed

By NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Senate on Monday got itself into a legislative snarl as the result of a ruling that the existing Senate rule to shut off debate does not apply to the motion to take up the anti-poll tax bill and an appeal from that rule.

The appeal is subject to endless debate.

The ruling of Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, of Michigan, president pro tempore of the Senate, came on a point of order made by Senator Richard B. Russell, Democrat, of Georgia, who is leading the southerners in their fight against the anti-poll tax bill.

Senator Russell made the point that a cloture petition presented by Senator Kenneth S. Wherry, of Nebraska, acting majority leader, was not in order because the Senate cloture rule did not apply to motions to take up a bill.

PETITION SIGNERS

The cloture petition was signed by 22 senators, four of whom are Democrats. Signers were Wherry, Taft, William F. Knowland, California; Joseph R. McCarthy, Wisconsin; Ralph E. Flanders, Vermont; Irving M. Ives, New York; Guy Cordon, Oregon; Clyde M. Reed, Kansas; William E. Jenner, Indiana; Arthur Capper, Kansas; Homer Ferguson, Michigan; H. Alexander Smith, New Jersey; Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa; Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., Massachusetts; James P. Kem, Missouri; Wayne Morse, Oregon; Edward Martin, Pennsylvania; and Leverett Saltonstall, Massachusetts, Republicans.

Also Claude Pepper, Florida; Alben W. Barkley, Kentucky; J. Howard McGrath, Rhode Island, and Theodore F. Green, Rhode Island, Democrats.

Senator Taft told the Senate that he appealed from the ruling of the chair because it left the Senate "In an almost impossible situation." He added that, under the ruling, there was no way by which the situation could be changed "except by physical exhaustion, by keeping the Senate in session day in and day out."

He said he hoped that will not be necessary, but the Senate will have to do that next year unless a change in the rules is made.

CITES STAND

In making his ruling, Senator Vandenberg told the Senate he was putting aside his "personal prejudices and predelictions."

He pointed out that there has been no direct previous ruling upon the specific question of whether a motion to take up a bill is subject to cloture, but it has been recognized that "a motion cannot reasonably be construed to be a "pending measure" within the meaning of the cloture rule. As evidence of this fact, he pointed to numerous resolutions which have been reported to make the cloture rule applicable to "any measure, motion or other matter pending before the Senate, or the unfinished business."

The pending measure before the Senate, said Senator Vandenberg, was the bill to provide for the development of civil transport aircraft adaptable for auxiliary military services.

STATUS CHANGED

The motion to consider the anti-poll tax bill, made by Senator Wherry on July 29, Senator Vandenberg said, is to create a new "pending measure."

In his capacity as a senator, Vandenberg said, he favors "passage of the anti-poll tax measure now" and believes that Senate rules should permit cloture upon the motion to take up that measure, but that as president pro tempore he was bound "to recognize what he believes to be the clear mandate of the Senate rules and the Senate precedents, namely, that no such authority presently exists."

His ruling means, he declared, that the Senate has "no effective cloture rule at all" and that "a small but determined minority can always prevent cloture."

AS A SENATOR

In his capacity as Senator from Michigan he believes that the Senate should adopt the Saltonstall resolution which would make it possible for two-thirds of the Senate to control the destiny of the Senate, Senator Vandenberg declared, adding:

"The Senate should not be impotent in emergency. If the Senate wishes to cure this impotence it has the authority, the power, and the means to do so. The president pro tempore of the Senate does not have the authority, the power, or the means to do so except as that he arbitrarily takes the law into his own hands, which he declines to do in violation of his oath. If he did so, he would feel that what might be deemed temporary advantage by some could become a precedent which ultimately, in subsequent practice, would rightly be condemned by all."

Dewey Chief Hits Special Session Call

Brownell Says GOP Won't Push Platform At 'Rump' Congress

By Robert C. Albright

Post Reporter

Herbert Brownell, jr., manager of Gov. Thomas E. Dewey's campaign, yesterday called the special session of Congress convening Monday a "rump" meeting and virtually ruled out action now on the 1948 Republican platform.

Speaking "only for myself," but after consultation with Governor Dewey, Brownell told a news conference:

"The Republican platform calls for the enactment of a program by a Republican Congress under the leadership of a Republican President.

"Obviously this cannot be done at a rump session called at a political convention for political purposes in the heat of a political campaign."

Didn't See Congress Leaders

The man who will serve as Governor Dewey's spokesman on all campaign-related matters, including legislation, said he had not discussed the statement with congressional leaders but talked over the "substance" with Dewey.

He declined to elaborate on the precise wording of the statement or to say what he meant by a "rump" session.

He did say it was neither a hint to GOP leaders to cut the session short nor an indication that no special session action should be taken on some GOP pledges.

Those are matters for Republican congressional leaders to decide when they confer next week on Mr. Truman's recommendations, he said. He predicted only that they "will place the best interests of the country over and above partisanship."

To Continue 'Cooperation'

"They will continue their attitude of cooperation," he said. "If there is none, it will again be President Truman's fault."

What Brownell plainly sought to do by his statement was remove the GOP platform from the special session spot Mr. Truman tried to put it on when he called Congress back.

In his special session agenda, reeled off early Thursday morning to the Democratic convention, the President listed measure after measure he said the GOP as well as the Democrats were now pledged to enact.

He said the special session would give Republicans a chance to redeem their pledges. Brownell made it just as clear that the 1948 Republican program as such will have to wait for a Republican administration to put through, with the aid of a Republican Congress.

Leaders to Confer

A round of GOP leadership conferences slated for next Monday meanwhile was announced by Acting Senate Majority Leader Kenneth S. Wherry (Nebr.), who tossed out a broad hint that Congress may open with a filibuster.

Wherry, like Brownell, said the legislative program must be worked out by the leaders, but he added:

"The only legislation in the President's program I know of that is ready is these civil rights bills (antilynching, antipoll tax and FEPC legislation."

The Democratic and Republican platforms called for action on all three, as well as an end to segregation in the armed forces.

The Nebraska Republican took a dim view of the outlook for shutting off Southern civil rights opposition with a cloture motion, however.

Could Filibuster on "Journal"

Unlike Mr. Truman, who said Senate Republican can command the two-thirds majority needed to impose cloture, Wherry pointed out several filibuster devices, notably debate on the "journal," which is not subject to cloture.

Even with cloture, he said, there might be a long legislative delay. He noted that under cloture each Senator could speak for an hour on the pending bill and all amendments.

Some Republicans have suggested privately that a civil rights curtain-raiser might serve a triple political purpose: (1) At least attempt to carry out one GOP pledge; (2) sidetrack for the time being Mr. Truman's antiinflation and housing programs and (3) highlight through a filibuster the Democratic party rift.

Wherry, a leader in the successful GOP fight against OPA meat rationing, had this to say about reports that Mr. Truman will ask immediate price controls on meat, and standby controls on other prices: "Unless you control all factors entering into prices, including wages, it won't work."

He said the President is "definitely overoptimistic" about getting action on his agenda within 15 days.

Law Sets Adjournment Limit

Wherry said one of the things leaders may look into is the Congressional Reorganization Act requirement that Congress adjourn not later than July 31, except in time of war or National emergency, "unless otherwise provided by the Congress."

The White House meanwhile added these two international measures to the agenda Mr. Truman is expected to lay before Congress Monday or Tuesday:

Senate ratification of the international wheat agreement;

A 65-million-dollar loan to the United Nations to finance completion of New York headquarters.

Wherry said Monday's session-opener will be brief. At 10 a. m., Senate GOP Steering Committee Chairman Robert A. Taft will confer with House Speaker Joseph W. Martin, jr., on the GOP program. Then at 3 p. m. the Senate Republican Steering Committee will hold a full-dress party policy conference.

Denies He Is Hinting

Brownell told reporters he did not know whether Taft and Martin will confer directly with Governor Dewey in advance of the session. He said he assumed they will agree on a "constructive" program immediately after the President presents his recommendations.

Would he (Browne) sit in on the conferences, as Governor Dewey's representative?

"I do not know. I hold myself in readiness to consult with them at any time or any matter that affects the campaign. Legislation, of course, does."

Was his statement that the "rump" session couldn't write the 1948 GOP platform into law a "hint" to members to adjourn immediately?

"I think that is an unwarranted interpretation."

Did his statement preclude action on individual planks in the platform?

"I don't so interpret it."

Says GOP Not On Spot

Dewey's close friend and campaign manager said he preferred to let the 45-word statement "speak for itself" without further elaboration by him.

He denied the President's move to put the Republican Party "on the spot." He said he agreed with campaign w... Governor Dewey that the Eightieth GOP organi... Congress "has a fine record." As Me... Saturd... for the Dewey-Warren ticket, he has not bee... said Republicans "have never had ... a ticket that met with more ap... probation in the 48 States." He ... paign, nor h... said he had never seen "a closer ... worked out. knit team."

Brownell announced that Representative Hugh D. Scott, jr., (R. Pa.), Republican National Chairman, will open the Republican

BY GOP, DEMOCRAT

Chances Seen Slight For Civil Rights Bill

WASHINGTON, July 26.—(UP)—A Republican leader and a Southern Democrat agreed today there is little chance that Congress will pass any civil rights legislation during the special session.

But both predicted that at least one of President Truman's civil rights bill will be brought up in the Senate and that the resulting filibuster may block congressional action on anti-inflation, housing and other presidential requests.

The Republicans and Southern Democrats planned separate huddles today at which the civil rights issue is sure to be discussed.

Sen. Allen J. Ellender (D-La), said he doubts "very seriously" that any Negro rights bills will be passed in the summer session. But he is "satisfied" that that is "about all" that will come before Congress at this sitting.

Ready To Filibuster

"As far as I'm concerned," he said, "if they want a little filibuster, we're ready. I've got a 50-hour speech in my system, and there are others who can do as well or better."

Acting Senate Republican Leader Kenneth S. Wherry of Nebraska agreed with Ellender that no civil rights bills are likely to win approval.

"It can't be done in the 15 days that President Truman has allotted to us, if at all," said Wherry. The President said Congress could handle his nine-point legislative program "in 15 days if they want to."

Wherry said he believes a civil rights bill would get the unanimous support of Republicans in both houses. He added, though, the GOP leaders are not inclined to try to force such a bill through by "legislative tricks." Barring such tricks, the Southerners have what may be a foolproof filibuster to defeat the proposals.

Can't Be Applied

This consists of proposing and debating an unlimited number of amendments to the Senate journal, which must be disposed of at the start of each legislative day. The Senate's cloture or "gag" rule can't be applied to this hitherto successful type of filibuster. Senate parliamentary experts said it looks unbreakable as long as the Southerners lungs hold out.

The threat of a Southern talkathon gave rise to an interesting possibility—a filibuster against a filibuster.

The three Progressive party members in Congress have pledged themselves to filibuster against adjourrment of the extra session until "adequate" civil rights, housing and price control legislation is enacted.

"We have decided," said Rep. Vito Marcantonio of New York, "to use every rule of the House and Senate at our command to prevent adjournment."

He said he spoke for Sen. Glen H. Taylor of Idaho, and Rep. Leo Isacson of New York.

Truman to Go Before Congress Personally

WASHINGTON, July 21—(AP)—President Truman next Tuesday will go personally before the Congress he has bitterly criticized to lay down his demands for anti-inflation and housing laws.

House and Senate will meet jointly at 11:30 a. m. to hear the President, a time set after consulting leaders in both parties.

Mr, Truman's message, covering at least nine other proposed bills, will be the signal for Republican leaders in both Houses to huddle and decide what to do about it.

Congress comes together Monday in extra session called by the President after a speech accusing the GOP-dominated body of dodging its responsibility.

Announcing the President's plans, Press Sec. Charles G. Ross defended the session call which critics have assailed as playing politics.

"He is not asking Congress to do the impossible," Ross said. He declared that most of the bills Mr. Truman wants are already pending in Congress, some already passed by one House or the other.

Ross said Mr. Truman is not asking enactment of the Republican platform. GOP leaders have said this is not the time to try to push it through.

Congress will be listening closely to the message for mention of the grave crisis in relations with Russia.

Congress will be interested keenly in the bill Mr. Truman is preparing to back up his call for laws to halt rising prices..

The Truman bill is expected to embrace to a large extent his 1947 anti - inflation recommendations. These included authority for price controls and rationing.

The administration today took one step toward lower prices—a suggestion to the baking industry that lower wheat prices should justify a cut in prices of bread and other bakery products.

President Gets GOP Freeze-Out In Address to 'Worst' Congress

(Text, Page 3)

President Truman in a temperate appeal to a straight-faced Congress yesterday called for price, profit and credit controls now to avoid another depression.

From the Congress he publicly horsewhipped in Philadelphia and labeled "the worst" he received polite Democratic applause and a Republican freeze-out. Later Republicans bombarded the press gallery with statements branding the speech "political" and worse.

Mr. Truman, reading his speech mildly instead of "pouring it on," asked limited price control and seven other antiinflation measures be made "the first order of business" and promptly enacted.

He put long range housing in the No. 2 priority spot, recommending swift passage of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill to produce "more houses of the kind our families need."

He called for action on nine other programs, including Federal aid to education, civil rights and nondiscriminatory displaced persons legislation, and asked a "more equitable" Federal pay act.

Mr. Truman received perfunctory standing applause from both sides as he entered. He read the speech slowly, without the ad libbed punch he gave to his July 15 convention hall lines. Fifteen times he was interrupted by applause, but it came mostly from Administration Democrats on the floor and in the Executive gallery.

From Speaker Joseph W. Martin, jr. (Mass.) the President received one of the shortest introductions on record:

"The chair presents the President of the United States."

Martin said later that this was the "proper" introduction for a President, "I'll make the same presentation when Governor Dewey is elected."

But his termination of the session varied enough from the formal to get a laugh from Republicans on the floor.

"The purpose of the meeting having been achieved, the joint session is now dissolved," he said.

Mr. Truman laid before Congress essentially the same anti-inflation program he recommended eight months ago with some tightening "in the light of changing circumstances."

Housing Need Stressed

He said his second reason for calling Congress back was the the "desperate need of more houses at lower prices." He termed the Senate-passed Taft-Ellender-Wagnerner bill, now blocked in the House banking and Rules committees "the bill we need . . . We need it now, not a year from now."

A petition to force the bill to the House floor has been pending sincee last session. Sponsors said it now has around 150 signatures. A majority of 218 is required to force action.

Administration housing strategy is expected to concentrate on signing up this petition.

Mr. Truman stressed that none of the other "important" measures he recommended should be permitted to interferee with "vital work on lgislation concerning high prices and housing.

He got his first good hand from the Democratic side of the aisle on these five terse sentences; obviously aimed at cries for immediate adjournment:

"High prices are not taking 'time off' for the election. High prices are not waiting until the next session of the Congress. High prices are getting worse. They are getting worse every day. We cannot afford to wait for the next Congress to act."

All but a handful of Republicans sat dead pan through this and other Truman sallies but friends on the Democratic side and in the galleries broke out in applause five times during his call for inflation controls.

His demand for legislation to provide houses at prices "which families of moderate income, particularly veterans, can afford to pay," got three separate cheers.

Other Applauded Passage

Other applauded passages:

Congress should provide Federal assistance to the States in meeting the present crisis in education, to raise teachers' income and assure a schooling for every child.

The present 40-cent minimum wage is pitifully inadequate in the face of today's high prices and all workers now should have a 75-cent wage floor.

The displaced persons bill passed last session discriminates against persons because of their religion, land or origin or occupation and is contrary "to all American ideals. A new act should be passed wiping out these discriminations and providing for 400,000 DP admissions.

Civil Rights Urged

Congress should reconsider last session's cuts and "crippling limitations" on power and reclamation programs and provide funds to start a TVA steam plant at New Johnsville, Tenn., and other projects.

Conress should enact all of the measures he recommended last February "to protect and extend basic civil rights of citizenship and human liberty."

Truman's Program Presented to Congress

President Truman's eight-point anti-inflation program, presented to Congress in his message yesterday, calls for:

4. **An excess profits tax.**
8. **Consumer credit controls.**
3. **Regulation of bank credit.**
4. **Regulation of commodity speculation.**
5. **Allocation and inventory control of scarce commodities.**
6. **Stronger rent controls.**
7. **Rationing of products in short supply.**
8. **Price controls for scarce commodities which basically affect essential industrial production or the cost of living.**

"Educational" Campaign....New Name For Filibuster

THE TWENTY-one southern senators who are conducting a filibuster against the anti-poll tax bill call their performance an "educational campaign." Long speeches fill the Congressional Record. These speeches are filled with oratorical contraptions which consist in part of distortions and misrepresentations. The truth as to certain facts involved is obscured. The aim is to create in the American mind the impression that the South is infallible, holy and righteous in its handling of the race problem.

Senator EASTLAND of Mississippi, is making numerous contributions to the "educational campaign." The other day he interrupted Senator STEWART of Tennessee, who was doing his chore in the filibuster, to get it into the Congressional Record that Negroes were the largest beneficiaries of the poll tax, and that if it was outlawed Negro education would suffer.

The following exchange took place between the senatorial educators:

Mr. EASTLAND. How much is the poll tax in the Senator's State?

Mr. STEWART. The various counties have different requirements, the maximum being $2. I think the constitution fixes it at $1, and provides that no county may require more than an equal amount. That is, if the State requires $1, the amount fixed by the county may not exceed that amount.

Mr. EASTLAND. For what purpose is the tax levied? Is it not for the maintenance of schools?

Mr. STEWART. It is for the maintenance of schools. The money is paid into the school fund and is used to support the common or public schools of the State.

Mr. EASTLAND. Is it not a fact that Negro schools are the principal beneficiaries of the tax?

Mr. STEWART. They are, indeed, but all schools benefit by it. We have both Negro and white schools. The money is paid into the county school fund

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for another question?

Mr. STEWART. I yield.

Mr. EASTLAND. In the event the tax were invalidated, Negro education would suffer, would it not?

Mr. STEWART. It would suffer to that extent, just as all other education would.

Mr. EASTLAND. As a matter of fact, are those who urge the enactment of the pending bill and who appeal for its passage really friends of the Negro race and of Negro education?

Mr. STEWART. I have never thought so.

Grant that the poll tax is allocated to the public school funds of the poll tax states, it is not set apart for Negroes or for whites. Senator EASTLAND would have the nation believe that "Negro schools are the principal beneficiaries of the tax." Let us see how the poll tax states divide their school dollar —their poll tax dollar—and who gets the most of it for education:

In 1945 the amount spent per pupil in the elementary schools of the seventeen states which have separate schools was as follows:

Per white pupil	$73.67
Per Negro pupil	32 46

The value of school property per pupil enrolled:

Per white pupil	$224.00
Per Negro pupil	52.00

The length of school term:

For white pupils	173.5 days
For Negro pupils	164 days

Proportionate number of pupils transported from their homes to schools:

White pupils	37.94 per cent
Negro pupils	11.0 per cent

The source of this information is the United States Census Bureau.

From the foregoing tabulation we do not know how Senator EASTLAND could arrive at his conclusion. His contribution to this phase of the filibuster was one of miseducation.

Mississippi, Mr. EASTLAND's state, spends less than any of the seventeen southern states and border states per Negro pupil.

For each white pupil Mississippi spends $45.34. For each Negro pupil $5.45. Altogether Mississippi spends an average of 731.9 per cent more on the education of white children than it does on Negro children.

From documents issued by the National Education Association and the American Council on Education, Senator EASTLAND may learn that:

The median expenditure per classroom unit (30 pupils) per year in the states of the North and West is $2,199 For the white schools of the southern states it is $1,166 per classroom unit, and for the Negro schools it is $477.

The classroom units costing less than $600 a year in the United States are accounted for as follows:

1. Sixty-nine per cent (44.993 classroom units with an attendance of 1,270,881 children) are for Negro children in the seventeen states maintaining dual school systems.

2. Twenty-three per cent (18.250 classroom units with an attendance of 385,981 children) are for white children in the seventeen states maintaining dual school systems.

3. Eight per cent (6,703 classroom units with an attendance of 68,780 children are for children in the thirty-one states which do not maintain dual school systems.

The men who represent the South in the Congress merely invite revelation of the truth concerning their states short-changing of the Negro when they undertake to "enlighten" the rest of the nation on their ability to settle the race problem all by themselves in their own way. They have not shown that their way has in it any of the elements of justice. Their way is a tradition rooted in the outmoded institution of human slavery, which established the South's cherished customs for dealing with Negroes.

They would create the impression that the Negro is a liability to the South —a burden on the white man. The Negro's contribution to the wealth of the South was for 250 years hard labor without recompense. As for the period since the Civil War we quote the late JOHN GARLAND POLLARD, of Virginia, pleading for justice to the Negro in the constitutional convention of 1902, when Virginia wanted to apply only the portion of school taxes paid by Negroes to schools for Negroes:

A great deal has been said this morning with reference to taking the taxes of the white people of the State and applying them to the education of Negroes. It is a mistaken idea to suppose that only the man is taxed who goes to the treasurer's office and pays his taxes. Every man who labors and who lives in this commonwealth, whether he has property or not, is taxed. Every producer of this State is taxed: under the present apportionment of the school funds of the State, if you take into consideration not only the funds applied to the public free schools but the funds applied to the higher institutions of learning for the white people of the State, you will find that in round numbers the Negro schools get only about 20 percent of the money raised for public education. I believe that the Negroes of Virginia produce 20 percent of the wealth of the State, and out of the wealth of this State the Commonwealth is maintained and its public school system supported.

I believe it is an erroneous idea to suppose that it is the white people of the State who are bearing such a burden as has been pictured by gentlemen upon this floor. The colored people of the State produce a large portion of the wealth of the State, and upon this wealth taxes are raised to maintain the schools. It, therefore, is but simple justice that they should enjoy at least the benefits of that portion of the wealth which they produce.

That was spoken by the distinguished Mr. POLLARD 46 years ago. He later became attorney-general and Govenor of Virginia, but his ideas and logic never penetrated the minds of those who made political and social policy in the State, except to a feeble extent. His words are just as true today as they were 46 years ago, but in the State, house and in the legislative assembly of Virginia their importance and their logic are resisted almost with the zeal and the vigor of fanaticism.

It was Virginia—of 1948—that first turned back the hands of the clock of time and human history and set in motion the ferment that brought 21 southern senators together in a filibuster against human progress.

Call it by whatever name that suits the reactionaries—call it states rights, politics, vote-wooing, radicalism, hatred of HARRY TRUMAN or fear of HENRY WALLACE—call it by any name that provides an excuse, but it is in reality the earth-cracking tremors of human beings, reaching for that position of security and human dignity which is the legitimate aspiration of all men of all races in this modern world.

Southern Senators Pledged To Poll Tax Filibuster Today

Embattled 11 States Force 24-Hour Delay on Measure and Drive Wedge Into the GOP and Northern Democrats' Opposition

By WILLIAM S. WHITE
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, July 28—The Senate's embattled Southerners forced a twenty-four-hour delay today on the Anti-Poll Tax Bill and suddenly and materially improved their whole defensive position against this item in the civil rights program.

They then gathered their forces in a late afternoon caucus for the beginning tomorrow of a powerful filibuster against the measure in which twenty-one Senators from the eleven states of the South were pledged to take a hand.

In the meantime, they had driven slight but significant wedges into the hitherto overwhelming Republican-Northern Democratic phalanx drawn up along with President Truman against them.

Tonight, the highest Republican quarters were unwilling to claim an ultimate triumph and were not prepared to reject beyond recall a proposed Southern "compromise" which in fact would be a Southern victory.

This was a suggestion, which first arose outside the Southern camp from Senator Carl Hayden of Arizona, that the majority give up its insistence on passing a House bill directly abolishing the poll tax and substitute a constitutional amendment proposing abolition. This would leave the matter to the states, where the Southerners wish it left.

Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, the leader of the Southern irreconcilables, made it plain that the Hayden plan would be acceptable on his side. He gave assurances that if it were adopted by the majority, more than half of the twenty-one Southerners would vote for it and that none of them would filibuster against it.

To this, however, he attached an important reservation: The Southerners would give no such commitment unless they got in turn a commitment that the Senate would stand out to the end against any return to the direct House repealer when and if the enactments of the two chambers came into ultimate conflict.

To this some Republicans on the floor responded with the utmost coolness, but others indicated some gingerly interest. One of these, Senator Wayne Morse, of Oregon, who at the time was titularly the acting Republican leader, invited the Democrats to offer the Hayden proposal in a formal way so that it could be examined by the Republicans in general.

Senator Russell took the position that this modified overture was directed not to him but to the Democratic leadership of the Senate, meaning Senator Alben W. Barkley, of Kentucky, President Truman's running-mate as the party's Vice Presidential candidate.

Mr. Barkley, who will almost certainly join the President in insisting on immediate action on the civil rights program for his part offered no comment.

Compromise Is Opposed

Senator Robert A. Taft, of Ohio, the Republican leader on national affairs, observed from the floor that the Hayden compromise would be objectionable in that thirteen of the forty-eight states could block a Constitutional amendment.

Subsequently, however, Mr. Taft made it clear that this was not to be regarded as necessarily a final rejection of compromise.

The Republicans, he said, simply would bring up the direct poll tax repealer the first thing tomorrow and see how matters developed.

It was quite possible, he said, that if the Southern filibuster got very heavy later on "and they come in with some compromise we may see about it."

Senator Irving M. Ives of New York, the closest of all Senators to Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican Presidential candidate, made it known that for his part the Constitutional amendment method would be an unsatisfactory alternative to direct action.

Senator Taft, however, told reporters that while he personally thought the direct repealer was constitutional, other Republicans, some of them very powerful in the party, did not. He declined to give any comfort to those predicting that the Southerners would be smashed.

To obtain the necessary two-thirds vote to shut off the Southern filibuster by the closure rule, he said, would be "a very close thing." He left the impression that he would not be at all surprised to lose as many as eleven Republican votes to the Southerners on the closure issue.

Such a loss, by every indication, would be the next thing to a defeat for closure.

No Plan for Filibuster

Senator Taft disclosed also that the Republicans had no intention of moving quickly to break down the Southern filibuster, saying that at least for the rest of the week he had no plan for forcing the recalcitrants into long night sessions.

"We cannot break them physically at this session," he added. "All that we can do this session is what can be done by the Senate rules." He said it would be possible to alter the rules to silence the Southerners, but this, too, he suggested, would be a difficult and doubtful procedure.

"My theory," Mr. Taft added, "is this: President Truman has said we can pass it (the bill). All right, we will exhaust every parliamentary method to do so if we can."

The overnight armistice on the measure was won by the Southerners by seizing upon a parliamentary technicality.

When the Senate met at 1 P. M. it had been in a state of "adjournment," as distinguished from a state of "recess," and the rules would have permitted Mr. Russell to have sidetracked the poll tax bill by insisting upon discussing the details of the Senate Journal.

The Republicans, making mental notes to order more "adjournments" soon, could do nothing to avoid this save make a gentleman's agreement to hold off the poll tax measure for the balance of the day. When the Senate quit late in the day it "recessed," and the Republicans announced that the bill would be brought up immediately tomorrow.

Sixteen of the Southerners, led by Senator Russell, went immediately to the offices of Senator Tom Stewart of Tennessee to lay their plans for tomorrow. They made it clear that if the "other side" wished later to discuss the Hayden compromise, a welcome would be extended.

Meantime, they had the first of their file of speakers, Senator John C. Stennis of Mississippi, ready to begin the filibuster tomorrow.

Russell Admits Negro Relocation Plan Discussed

WASHINGTON, July 28—(UP)—Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga), said today that reports he plans to introduce legislation to relocate Negro families in the North are "wholly unauthorized."

He said he had been considering such a measure "but any statement made by anybody up to this time is completely and wholly unauthorized."

Russell was reported to be drafting a bill to give federal subsidy payments to Southern Negro families who wished to move to a Northern state.

It was learned that the subject was discussed at a meeting of Southern Senators Monday but that no decisions were reached.

Russell declined to comment further on the proposal.

Because the extra session is expected to be brief it is not believed the legislation will be introduced.

Other Southern sources revealed that the Georgian and others had been accumulating information on the relocation subject with a view to possible legislation, but that an earlier draft of the proposed bill, calling for $1,500 for each family to be relocated, had been scrapped.

Russell's office said published reports apparently were based on this discarded draft and were not checked with the Georgia Senator before publication.

Impeachment Urged By Alan Johnstone

Maybank Reveals Telegraph Plea

WASHINGTON, July 28—(AP) — Senator Maybank (D-SC) told the Senate today that Alan Johnstone of Newberry, S. C., who is running against Maybank for the Senate, had asked him to start impeachment proceedings against Federal Judge J. Waties Waring of the Eastern district of South Carolina.

Maybank said the request came in a telegram from Johnstone.

"In my reply," Maybank said, "I reminded Mr. Johnstone that any such action under the law must necessarily begin in the House of Representatives."

Yesterday Representative Dorn (D.,S.C.) introduced a resolution in the House asking for an investigation of "the conduct in office" of Judge Waring. He later inserted a statment in the Congressional Record in which he said Congress ought to impeach Waring.

Much of Dorn's statement was devoted to criticism of the judge's recent order that the Democratic party in South Carolina must enroll Negroes.

The telegram from Johnstone to Maybank, as made public by the senator, said in part:

"Impeach Judge Waring in the Senate. These orders by which he makes war on South Carolina white and black and in which he . . . dishonors the memory of Woodrow Wilson, Senator Smith (he referred to the late E. D. "Cotton Ed" Smith) and yourself. . . . It is not the good conduct which the constitution demands of a judge with life tenure. All our people, including Negro citizens, deserve better conduct than this and can no longer risk the prejudices it stirs up."

Maybank inserted the telegram, with his reply, in the Congressional Record. His reply to Johnstone said:

"You are a lawyer and should know that impeachment proceedings must be brought in the House of Representatives."

Maybank told the Senate:

"I have previously condemned Judge Waring for his actions in reaching beyond the jurisdiction of his court and I still feel that he exceeded his authority in his orders to the Democratic party of South Carolina. There is no precedent in South Carolina for his actions in a civil case."

Russell Accepts Challenge

By ROBERT A. ERWIN
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, July 28—A Southern Democratic filibuster against the antipoll tax bill became certain tonight after GOP leaders spurned a proposal to change the measure to a Constitutional Amendment.

At the same time, Republican Senators agreed on a "short" Special Session, rejecting all of President Truman's legislative proposals except civil rights.

Acting Senate GOP Leader Wherry, Nebraska, announced there was "no change in our plans" to bring the House-passed poll-tax measure to the Senate floor.

Dixie Democrats, led by Sen. Russell, Georgia, had pledged there would be no filibuster if a Constitutional Amendment, needing ratification by two-thirds of the States, were substituted for the bill.

Earlier, Georgia's Sen. George expressed belief the Republicans would bring little more than credit-control legislation before the Special Session, and he predicted the session would adjourn week after next, after an existence of about three weeks.

The Republicans now have set the stage for the filibuster by recessing instead of adjourning,

position is not quite so strong as far as support from other sections of the country is concerned.

George said rising prices and housing were the chief domestic issues, and "there is no substantial difference of opinion between the two political parties except how to deal with these problems.

"I would like very much to see Federal-aid-to-education bill passed. It has already gone through the Senate, and I have

been doing what I can to dislodge it in the House."

On the international front, George does not believe Russia is ready for war or wants war at this time, but he recognizes the continuous danger that might arise from an "incident."

The Dixie Democrats met in the office of Sen. Stewart, Democrat, Tennessee to map strategy.

By ROULHAC HAMILTON, JR.

WASHINGTON, July 27—A bill to provide Federal aid for Negro families desiring to move from Southern States to other parts of the country is expected to be introduced in the Senate within the next few days by Sen. Richard B. Russell, Jr., it was learned today.

Russell's office said he was "not prepared yet" to comment on the resettlement bill, but Sen. Clyde R. Hoey, of North Carolina, said he had learned Russell planned to introduce the measure shortly.

At least one other Southern Senator, who did not wish his name used at this time, said he and several others would welcome an opportunity to join Russell in sponsoring the bill, but Hoey said he understood Russell would introduce the measure on his own.

Under provisions of the bill, which Russell has been studying for several years as a means of relieving the race problem by dispersing the Negro population on a more equitable basis throughout all the 48 States, any Negro family desiring to move from its present geographic location to another, for the purpose of bettering its economic and social position, would be allocated a maximum of $1,500 by the Federal Government to finance the move.

The program, as invisioned in the proposed bill, would be entirely voluntary, and no Negro family could be compelled to move. However, if, on its own initiative, a family should desire to move, it could draw up to $1,500 from the Federal Government.

Hoey said the Russell Bill would result in a scattering of low-income groups throughout the country instead of concentrating them in the relatively poor Southern States and it would result in giving Negroes a better opportunity through enabling them to live in more prosperous States.

Political Special Session

President Truman's call for a special session of Congress, sounded as his first political play in the national campaign, may doom to futility a sitting which has possibilities of usefulness. Following its adjournment last June, the newspaper suggested that Congress return after the party conventions and finish such chores as needed completion.

These include, of course, the restoration to the states of the tidelands to which they held title, confirmed by the courts and long public usage for more than a quarter and a century. They include repeal of discriminatory and indefensible federal taxes on oleomargarine, an act of justice required in the public interest, specially needed in this high-living-cost time and strongly demanded by the American people. They might well include the enactment of a better housing bill, though relief of the housing shortage depends chiefly upon moderation of construction costs rather than upon legislation.

What Mr. Truman evidently has in mind, however, is a political slugfest. His attack upon the 80th Congress was launched during his political junket to the West. Apparently he feels that a special session will give him better opportunities to resume his verbal castigation of that body and divert public attention from other issues and matters of grave import to the nation.

It seems likely, therefore, that the session he has called will produce little but political sound and fury, with Mr. Truman and the Congress leaders swapping superheated adjectives and fighting toe to toe from start to finish, and the sound objectives of constructive legislation kicked aside in the general melee.

Conceivably the president-candidate hopes to goad the Republicans into enactment of the so-called "civil rights" force bills. If that were done, he might be able to pin the responsibility of them and get it off his own neck—while claiming a share of the credit before the minority groups clamoring for coercive action against the South.

Our own guess is that the political controversy he is bent on staging in Washington will not be nearly so one-sided as he supposes. The 80th Congress left unfinished some of the things it should have finished. But its record for constructive legislation compares favorably with that of its predecessor under collaboration with Mr. Truman.

One solid and ominous fact demonstrated by the president's rabidly partisan attack upon a national Legislature which followed the bipartisan policy closely on foreign affairs is this:

He has set up partisanship over the bipartisan course upon which successful conduct of the nation's foreign policies depends now and through the four years just ahead and seems bent on forcing a partisan fight so bitter that there could be no reconciliation or co-operation so long as he remained in the White House.

The Deweyites and the Dixiecrats

Lerner

It is now pretty clear that the Republicans in Congress intend to fight Truman fire with Southern secessionist fire. The President having presented them with an 11-point program of unfinished business which is logically unanswerable, the Republican answer is to set the stage for the Dixiecrat filibuster and tune the sound amplifiers to the Dixie yell.

Herbert Brownell is on deck in Washington to mastermind the Republican congressional strategy. He knows that the outcome of the whole campaign may depend on the Republican behavior in the special session. The Republican majority in Congress can no longer afford to act as a legislative majority, under its own leaders like Taft and Vandenberg, Martin and Halleck. It must now act as the mouthpiece of a presidential candidate, Governor Dewey, and of his mouthpiece Brownell. It has become the shadow of a candidate's shadow.

Two Achilles Heels

In this shadowland atmosphere of stealth and cunning, its tactic will be to shove aside the issues of anti-inflation, housing, minimum wage, social security, the DP law, public power, federal aid to education, and concentrate on a single one of the eleven points—civil rights. For just as the Republican congressional bankruptcy on all eleven points is the Achilles heel of Tom Dewey as candidate, so the Dixiecrat hatred is the Achilles heel of Harry Truman as candidate.

By bringing up the civil rights issue, in the form of anti-poll tax bill, as the first order of business, the Deweyites can use the Dixiecrats to destroy the whole Truman program. The Dixiecrats are all set for a prolonged filibuster on the anti-poll tax bill. The Republicans, joining with the Trumanites, can break the filibuster, but what is to prevent them from letting it go on unmercifully and then breaking it at their own sweet leisure? Thus they can get credit for virtue from the Negroes, even while they are the allies of the Negro-haters.

An Uneasy Alliance

By the time the filibuster is broken, there will be little time left for anything more than wrangling and shadowboxing over the other ten legislative issues. Let meat and milk prices go higher, let the desert of housing remain a desert, let school children and teachers go on the straitjacket of inadequate local funds, let the DP's rot in their DP camps, to Dewey and Thurmond these are secondary matters, just so long as states' rights are preserved for one and Truman is destroyed for both. The alliance of the Deweyites and the Dixiecrats, is, no doubt, an uneasy alliance. But it has the crucial cement of any alliance—the will to destroy a common enemy.

My readers know I am not a great Truman partisan. Yet in the campaign issue of civil rights and the whole 11-point special session program, I stand steadfastly with Truman against both the Deweyites and the Dixiecrats. I know that Truman is trying to get the Negro vote. That's fine with me. When politicians are thrust into the position where they must appeal to the Negroes or the workers, the schoolteachers or the low income housewives, or any other of the dispossessed and neglected groups, that is the dynamics of social progress. That is how we move ahead in this democracy of pressure groups.

Opportunism and Jim Crow

The President's executive order to end Jim Crow in the armed and civil services is, of course, an opportunist move. But then all of politics is opportunism. I like opportunism on the right side. The order will only partially be carried out. It does not ban the principle of segregation itself, wholly and specifically. And segregation wherever it occurs is the key to the bias problem, the heart of Jim Crow. But the President's order will push the segregation line down from the company to the platoon in the army. We can, with more pressure, push it from the platform to the squad, and finally push it out of existence. Only then will the President's hands be wholly clean—and our hands as well.

President Truman has gone far enough to start a new war of the secession. Governor Thurmond is trying bravely to keep the war squarely on the issue of states' rights, and to keep his cause from becoming wholly the case of Southern racism, racketeering and reaction. He will not succeed. For when a movement is born in hate and intolerance, it gets out of the hands of whatever tolerant leader may try to hold it back.

When I say the Deweyites have become the allies of the Dixiecrats, I don't mean they share their views. Obviously they don't. I do mean they are willing to use whatever weapon is at hand. And I mean also something deeper. The Dixiecrats, in their way, are fighting a Southern liberalism which is still in the agonies of birth. The Deweyites, in ther own way, are also fighting a nationwide liberalism which was born in the American revolution and has had to be re-born in every great crisis. The alliance is, after all, a deeper one than appears on the surface.

Congress Can Act If It Wishes

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.
7-26-48

From The Congressional Quarterly

CONGRESS can act quickly on six of the President's proposals for the extra session—housing, poll tax, lynching, F.E.P.C., education and the U.N. building loan. Prices, social security and the other measures cited by Truman are not ready for a vote.

The Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill, for example, has passed the Senate and can be brought up in the House right away if the Rules Committee reports it out—which it refused to do in June. There is also a petition to force this housing bill to the floor.

The chief fight on T-E-W has been over the slum clearance and public housing features. Since the bill provides that the government shall act only when private industry is unable to fill the need, it conforms on the surface to the stands of both Republicans and Democrats. Most civic, labor, veterans' and religious groups are for T-E-W. The real estate and building trades and the Chamber of Commerce are opposed to it.

Mon 7-26-48

The House can also act on two other measures which have passed the Senate—Federal Aid to Education and the U.N. $65 million building loan. The building loan was lost in the shuffle in June. The education bill has been attacked by States' Righters and those opposing help to private and religious schools. But the bipartisan bill which both Republicans and Democrats supported in the Senate keeps control of education in the States and allow the States to decide policy, thus overcoming objections.

Similarly, the antipoll tax bill has passed the House and is ready for the Senate. Anti-lynching bills have been reported in both houses and F.E.P.C. can be brought up in the Senate, but is not out of committee in the House. An amendment to end segregation in the armed forces was tabled in the Senate by a large vote of both parties. However, the President, as Commander-in-Chief, could establish it by executive order.

Mon

If any of the civil rights issues are called up, a filibuster is expected. President Truman says it would be easy to invoke cloture. The Republicans say maybe not.

7-26-48

Action on prices would be a long parliamentary process, even if there was agreement on what should be done, since no price measures were left pending when Congress adjourned. This means that bills must be introduced and go through the arduous routine of hearings, amendments and debates in both houses before they could become law.

Bills for health, minimum wage and social security are further along. Hearings have been held and committees could possibly rush through reports on them in time for action in this new session. The President's latest demand for ratification of the International Wheat Agreement concerns only the Senate.

Who Would Get Credit In The Political Session?

Assume that, as the Southerners fear, the President's civil rights program is actually passed at the special session of Congress, for which President Truman has now issued the call, to whom will the credit or the blame as the case may be go?

Sat.
7-24-48

Will it go to Mr. Truman for having called the session and provided the opportunity? Or will it go to the Republicans for providing the necessary majority?

And the same thing applies for housing, the high cost of living and the other issues which the session will be called upon to settle.

Columbia, S.C.

But what of the hazards to the call? Everybody knows in advance that no question coming before the special session will be decided upon its merits. Every move will be a calculated move, weighed against immediate political advantage and made for the purpose of attaining some putative political advantage. The main purpose of the special session is not to be in sound legislation but on the part of the Democrats to wreak the maximum amount of damage upon the Republicans that they can and for the Republicans to do whatever damage may be done to the Democrats.

Columbia, S.C.
7-24-48

It is hard to imagine a more futile thing or a more noxious atmosphere in which to conduct the legislative process. No president in his right mind would deliberately invite the experiment. No candidate of any sense would undertake it.

Congress Is Ready For Bitter Battle

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.
Mon. 7-26-48

Eastland Says Civil-Rights Bills Have Chance to Pass This Time

From Wire Dispatches.

Washington, July 25.—The Republican-controlled 80th Congress reconvenes on President Truman's call tomorrow for what promises to be the bitterest political fight in almost three decades.

Outcome of the November elections could be at stake.

Truman will set off the fireworks Tuesday in a personal appearance before a joint House-Senate session.

He apparently will ask authority to control prices on meat and other key commodities, certain rationing powers, completion by the House of action on the Senate-passed long-range housing bill, enactment of his civil-rights program, and other measures shelved by the pre-convention adjournment of Congress.

G.O.P. Slates Strategy Parley.

Some of the President's close advisers said he probably would not act for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Labor Act at the extra session. The legislation was passed over his veto and there is little prospect of getting the same Congress to take it off the law books.

Mon.

Another measure Truman long has advocated—universal military training—also likely will be sidetracked.

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Republican leaders, who protested that Truman was playing "cheap politics" by calling a summer session, are cool to most of his legislative proposals. They have scheduled two conferences tomorrow to draft their strategy.

House G.O.P. Floor Leader Charles A. Halleck of Indiana today accused the President of reneging on his promise to cooperate with Congress. He predicted that Truman probably would even veto a price-control bill if one should be passed.

Questions Sincerity.

Noting the President's failure to consult first with Democratic and Republican Congressional leaders, Halleck said it was pretty obvious that Truman's special-session call was "politically inspired . . . an attempt to pull himself off the floor."

"There is a serious question whether he really wants anything done," he said. "I wouldn't think, off hand, the session would last a month."

The President has been working on his message to Congress for days. He put the finishing touches on it this week end while cruising aboard the presidential yacht Williamsburg.

Called G.O.P.'s 'Last Chance.'

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Senator J. Howard McGrath (D., R. I.), who doubles as chairman of the Democratic Naitonal Committee, said the session was the "last chance" for the Republicans.

He said that if the G.O.P. Congress merely enacted its 1944 campaign promises it would "erase a little of the stigma of being a party which always promises but never performs." If it continues its "inaction and reaction," he said, "it will forfeit its last opportunity to seek to regain some measure of confidence from the plain people of America."

One of Truman's recommendations likely to receive serious Republican consideration is his request for civil-rights laws.

Senator Eastland (D., Miss.) conceded there is a chance that at least one of the civil-rights bills will get through the special session.

Louisville, Ky.

Eastland told a reporter that if the session accomplishes anything, it will be passage of one of the civil-rights bills. "And that's no accomplishment," he added.

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Several others among the few Southerners who returned to Washington early said privately they expect that the G.O.P. leadership—which would make any move to take up the bills, despite the President's advocacy of them—will decide to begin the session with a civil-rights fight.

They explained that such G.O.P. strategy would have the political advantage of widening the split between Truman and certain Southern states which have bolted his leadership over the issue.

Of the measures which the President asked Congress to come back and enact, three civil-rights bills are on the Senate calendar and ready for immediate debate. Others are pending in the House. The three are bills aimed at outlawing lynching, the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in federal elections, and discrimination in employment because of race or religion.

Louisville, Ky.

Ask Price Roll-Back.

The House has passed the anti-poll-tax bill, but leaders there have shown no inclination to take up either of the other two bills until the Senate acts, on grounds that the House could pass either one fairly promptly.

The question of raising the basic minimum-wage level is one of the subjects Truman is expected to touch upon in his special message.

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The American Federation of Labor today said that a boost in the minimum wage warrants prompt Congressional action. Through its political adjunct, Labor's League for Political Education, it called for raising the present minimum wage from 40 cents to $1 an hour.

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The League of Women Shoppers meantime addressed a demand to Congressional leaders that price control and rationing be reimposed, and that prices be rolled back to June 1946 levels.

GOP Shies On Platform For Session

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

Looming Filibuster On Civil Rights May Stymie Action

Wed. 7-21-48

WASHINGTON, July 20—(UP) Gov. Dewey's campaign manager, Herbert Brownell, Jr., today denounced the forthcoming special session of Congress as a "rump" meeting "called at a political convention for political purposes."

Admitting that he had discussed his statement in advance with Dewey, Brownell added bluntly that the GOP will not try to enact its 1948 campaign platform at the special session.

plan for Dewey's campaign, held a press conference soon after Acting Senate GOP Leader Wherry, Nebraska, hinted broadly that Republican leaders may plunge the special session into a quick civil of rights fight with the idea of stopping President Truman's anti-in-

Constitution

flation program cold.

Under this strategy, racial rights bills would be the first order of business. That would touch off a Southern Democratic filibuster which could effectively block all legislative action.

Brownell said sharply that "the Republican platform calls for enactment of a program by a Republican Congress under the leadership of a Republican President."

Wherry's hint that a time-consuming floor brawl over civil rights will be the first, if not the only, business at the special session came when reporters asked if the GOP leadership had any concrete plans for the reconvened Congress.

Wherry said that the only rights bills ready are anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and fair employment practices measures which were approved by Senate committees earlier this year but never brought to the floor. The anti-poll tax bill passed the House in 1947 during the first session of the 80th Congress, and thus could be made law this Summer if approved by the Senate.

Asked about President Truman's assertion that the Senate could break a civil rights filibuster if it chose to do so, by voting to impose the rarely used cloture rule which limits debate, Wherry replied that Mr. Truman "is in error" about the ease with which the Senate could impose the gag rule. He pointed out that a two-thirds majority is required to limit debate.

He added that even under the gag rule, Southern senators would still be entitled to unlimited discussion of the Senate Journal, a procedure that has often been used in the past to tie up floor action.

Rebellious Southerners And Angry Republicans Would Kill Special Session

By FELIX COTTEN
International News Service Writer

WASHINGTON, July 16. — The Southern revolt against President Truman's Democratic Party leadership branched out Friday into a move to adjourn Congress immediately after it convenes July 26 in response to the President's summons.

Senator Johnston (D., S. C.), one of the leaders in the Southern fight against civil rights legislation, announced that "if the President did not state a national emergency and prove it," he would move for an adjournment after the President delivers his opening message.

Truman Prepares Message

Mr. Truman, meanwhile, prepared to deliver his message in person before a joint session of the House and Senate, probably on July 27.

White House sources disclosed that thereafter he would bombard Congress with special messages outlining detailed proposals for legislation he deems necessary, provided it stays in session. He has placed price curbs and housing measures at the top of a nine-point "must" list.

Prospects arose that Republicans would grab the lead in a drive for immediate adjournment. Senator Jenner (R., Ohio) announced Thursday that he would submit an adjournment motion.

With Southern Democrats supporting the move in an effort to avert civil rights legislation, it probably would slide through overwhelmingly, unless the President can impress legislators that a real emergency exists.

Two developments, however, strengthen the President's hand, in the opinion of some lawmakers.

1. Announcement that "Big Steel" will reveal new price increases soon. Mr. Truman is expected to use this to reinforce his demand for inflation curbs.

World Situation Noted

2. The international situation, growing in intensity as a result of mounting Soviet pressure to force the Western powers out of Berlin.

Johnston recalled that the constitutional power to recall Congress was intended for use "only in dire emergencies". He added:

"Using the sounding board of the Democratic National Convention, the President has sought to prostitute that power for political gains. Honest Democrats will respect it no more than Republicans.

"It is a double-barreled effort to embarrass not only the Republicans but rebellious Southern Democrats as well."

Republican leaders in a chorus of disapproval have denounced the special session call as "cheap politics" by a desperate President seeking to save himself from defeat in the November presidential election.

President's Talk May Fall On Deaf Ears

Senate Will Meet Daily

WASHINGTON, July 26—(UP) — The Republican-controlled Congress met in extra session today with GOP leaders hoping to wind up business in a few weeks and some of them urging an almost immediate adjournment.

House Speaker Joseph W. Martin, Jr., and Senate President Arthur Vandenberg gavelled the two houses into session at noon, EDT, in response to President Truman's call.

Mr. Truman will appear before a joint session at 12:30 p. m. tomorrow to present in person his legislative requests. These are expected to include meat rationing and price controls to combat inflation. The GOP is ready to say "no" to that.

Hasn't Set Course

After a 90-minute leadership meeting, Martin said the GOP wanted to hear Mr. Truman before setting any definite legislative course.

Senate policy leader Robert A. Taft (R-O), told newsmen the Senate will meet daily this week "if we decide to stay here." He revealed that a suggestion was made during the leadership meeting that Congress adjourn without considering any of Mr. Truman's proposals. But no decision was made, Taft said.

Rep. Frederick Smith (R-O), told the House he would introduce a resolution for adjournment of the special session immediately after Mr. Truman speaks.

"No Good Reason"

"There is no good reason for this special session. It's purely a political move," he said.

Rep. Clarence Brown (R-O), said he believes the session will last only three or four weeks.

Others who attended the meeting were Vandenberg, Sens. Kenneth Wherry (R-Neb), and Eugene Millikin (R-Col), and Reps. Charles A. Halleck (R-Ind), and Leslie Ahrends (R-Ill).

Only about 200 members were on the House floor when Martin opened the session.

Sixty-five answered the roll call in the Senate, which met for 12 minutes. The only business was okaying a resolution to attend tomorrow's joint session for Mr. Truman's message.

Senate Democratic Leader Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky was the center of a group of senators who congratulated him on his nomination as Democratic vice presidential candidate.

Taylor Sits Alone

Sen. Glen Taylor (D-Ida), vice presidential nominee of Henry A. Wallce's Progressive party, sat alone at his desk, although he got a few handshakes, too, in congratulation.

Chairman Jesse P. Wolcott (R-Mich), of the House banking committee, told reporters he has no plans now to sponsor any new housing or anti-inflation legislation.

He said he believes the administration "is committed to high prices until after the election." Otherwise, he said, the powers now in the possession of the executive branch to bring prices down would have been used to the fullest.

He said there are two basic reasons for high prices: loose money policies and "unusual foreign demands" for commodities that are scarce in this country.

Meanwhile, Southern senators called an informal afternoon meeting to discuss their plans for opposing the civil rights proposals.

Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga), unofficial chairman of the Southerners, said every Southern Democrats except Sen. Claude Pepper (D-Fla), had been invited.

Russell said the Southerners were meeting merely to "re-sanctify" their position and would plan exact strategy only after they find out what the Republican leadership plans to do.

Sen. Olin D. Johnston (D-SC), said he is considering an adjournment resolution because "I don't see any good to be accomplished" by the special session.

But, Johnston said he will wait until after the President's message tomorrow before deciding whether or not to move for adjournment.

Green Challenges GOP On Filibuster

NEW YORK, Aug. 4—(AP)—William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, has challenged Republican leaders "to deny that they deliberately instigated" the present Senate filibuster.

Green, saying that GOP leaders of the 80th Congress were practicing "evil politics," said they had instigated the Southern Democrats' filibuster over poll tax legislation as "a political maneuver to block action on necessary legislation."

He told the state AFL convention that politics is the "only one possible reason" for Congress' inaction now on inflation and housing.

He challenged Sen. Robert A. Taft (R., Ohio) and other GOP leaders to deny that they were trying to "force adjournment of the special session without accomplishing a single constructive advance."

GOPers Offer Anti-Inflation Bill Of Their Own

Southerners Near Victory On Filibuster, Amendment Talked

WASHINGTON, Aug. 4—(AP)—The Republicans formally proposed their own anti-inflation bill today amid prospects it may reach the House for action tomorrow.

Rep. Wolcott (R., Mich.), House banking committee chairman, said the measure calls for restoring instalment buying controls through next March 15 and for moderate tightening of bank credits. These steps have been freely predicted previously by GOP leaders.

In the Republican drive to wind up the extra session of Congress next Tuesday, Wolcott said his committee may act upon the bill today, sending to the House for consideration tomorrow.

The measure completely ignores selective price-wage controls and rationing powers. Likewise, there is no mention of the president's proposed excess profits tax estimated to yield $4,300,000,000.

Republican senators concentrated on bringing up some form of housing bill and on what to do about civil rights legislation—especially the anti-poll tax bill tied up by a Southern filibuster.

* * *

ONE ISSUE was a plan to concede the Southern Democrats a victory in blocking the poll tax measure. The GOP leaders would propose instead a constitutional amendment calling for elimination of poll tax payments as a requisite to voting in federal elections.

A decision also was expected on a housing bill that would provide various aids for encouraging private construction. Especially of rental property. The housing measure was expected to reject flatly the provisions of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill for federal low-cost housing, slum clearance and farm housing aids.

AS THE GOP ANTI-INFLATION BILL was brought out, Treasury Secretary Snyder appeared before the House banking group. Pleading for credit controls, Snyder said:

"Unfortunately, as a result both of the tax reduction bill (passed by Congress in the Spring) and of the increased foreign aid and defense expenditures made necessary by the tense international situation, we no longer have a budget surplus at our disposal as a weapon for combating inflationary pressures.

"We must, therefore, lean to an increasing extent upon other measures for restriction of bank credit."

Sen. Taft (R., Ohio), who has proposed next Tuesday as quitting time for Congress, said GOP senators appeared to be split about evenly on the proposal to change the poll tax measure to a constitutional amendment.

Southern Democrats have said they would not filibuster against a constitutional amendment, which would need approval by 36 states. In any event, they apparently had won their fight against special session action on the House-approved bill to knockout such levies by simple congressional action.

THE REPUBLICAN CHOICE thus lay between trying to kill the poll tax the hard way—by changing the constitution—or letting the whole matter go over until January.

However, Sen. Morse (R., Ore.) made a fighting retreat last night against the Dixie word offensive on the poll tax question. He held the floor for over two hours defending the constitutionality of the House measure.

Morse spoke after Sen. Hill, (D., Ala.) had given his colleagues a six-hour and 13-minute talk on the subject. But few senators stayed around to listen to either speaker.

When the Senate finally quit at 10:16 p.m. Morse was promised he still would have the floor at the start of today's noon session.

SPECIAL SESSION BEGINS AT 10; TRUMAN'S ADDRESS TOMORROW

G.O.P. Leaders Cool Toward President's Proposals For Price Controls, Meat Rationing, Housing Program

By MILTON MAGRUDER
United Press Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, July 25.—The Republican-controlled 80th Congress reconvenes on President Truman's orders at 10 Monday morning (Memphis time) for what promises to be the bitterest poitical fight in almost three decades.

Outcome of the November elections could be at stake, even as Mr. Truman planned it.

He will set off the fireworks Tuesday in a personal appearance before a joint House-Senate session to ask for authority to control prices and ration meat, and to appeal for action on a host of bills shelved at the pre-convention adjournment in June.

Republican leaders, who protested Mr. Truman was playing "cheap politics" by calling a Summer session, are cool to most of his proposals. They have scheduled two huddles oMnday to draft their strategy.

Renege Charge Hurled

The House G.O.P. floor leader, Charles A. Halleck of Indiana, accused the President of reneging on his promise to co-operate with Congress. He predicted Mr. Truman probably would even veto a price control bill if one should be passed.

Noting the President's failure to consult first with Democratic and Republican congressional leaders, Halleck said it was pretty obvious Mr. Truman's special session call was "politically inspired — an attempt to pull himself off the floor."

The last comparable Congress was in the early 20s when a Republican Senate refused to let the United States join the League of Nations and torpedoed the late President Wilson's plans for world peace.

Mr. Truman has been working on his message to Congress for weeks. He put the finishing touches on it this week end while cruising aboard the presidential yacht Williamsburg. He returned to Washington late Sunday.

Other Expected Requests

He is expected to ask for authority to combat high prices through price controls on basic commodities, rationing of meat, curbs on consumer credit and compulsory allocation of scarce industrial materials.

He also may ask for a housing program along lines of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill pigeonholed by the last Congress because of House objections to slum clearance and low-cost public housing provisions.

Other recommendations will include expansion of the recently enacted Displaced Persons Law, Federal aid to education, expansion of Social Security, a national health program, and an increase in the national minimum wage.

The President has made all of these campaign issues, with inflation and the high cost of living holding top rank.

The only recommendation likely to receive serious Republican consideration is his request for Federal laws on racial rights.

Last Chance, Says McGrath

Senator J. Howard McGrath (D., R. I.), who doubles as chairman of the Democratic National Committee, said the session was the "last chance" for the Republicans. He said if the G.O.P. Congress merely enacted its 1944 campaign promises it would 'erase a little of the stigma of being a party which always promises but never performs."

If it continues its "inaction and reaction," he said, "it will forfeit its last opportunity to seek to regain some measure of confidence from the plain people of America."

Senate Faces Tie-Up Today On Poll Tax

Compromise Offer By South Rejected

21 Senators Prepare for Filibuster; Committees Study Price Measures

By Jack Steele

WASHINGTON, July 28.—Republicans paved the way today for the Eightieth Congress to buckle down to its special session work tomorrow. A Senate filibuster of Southern Democrats against the anti-poll tax bill was the first order of business.

While the Southerners, led off by Senator John C. Stennis, of Mississippi, start their speeches against this civil-rights measure in the Senate, the House and Senate Banking Committees will begin hearing Administration witnesses on the President's anti-inflation program. The White House is expected to send along a proposed bill to pull down prices.

The Senate filibuster — billed quite frankly by the Republicans as their "political" answer to Mr. Truman's "political" gesture in calling the special session—became a certainty tonight as the Republican leaders rejected a surprise Democratic move to compromise the civil-rights issue.

Amendment Suggested

Northern and Southern Democrats forgot their private feud long enough to sponsor this compromise —a proposal to substitute a Constitutional amendment for the pending legislation to ban the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting for Federal officials. The Southerners agreed to call off their projected filibuster if the compromise were accepted.

Republicans promptly poured cold water on the idea, however, noting that thirteen states could block ratification of such an amendment.

Senators Robert A. Taft, of Ohio, chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee, and Kenneth S. Wherry, of Nebraska, acting majority leader, later served notice that the Republicans would move consideration of the anti-poll tax bill as scheduled when the Senate meets at noon tomorrow.

The Southern Democrats then went ahead with their plans to object to the motion to consider the bill and launch their filibuster—a parliamentary maneuver which will apparently block any move to apply cloture (limitation of debate) under present Senate rules.

Caucus Plans Strategy

Republican Senators had agreed unanimously at a stormy caucus this morning to the leadership plan to make the anti-poll tax bill the Senate's first business—a strategem devised to place the blame for failure to enact civil-rights legislation squarely on Democratic shoulders.

The Republican Senators also backed up the program of their party's Congressional leaders to cut the session short and confine it to consideration of only two other items in the President's eleven-point program—his proposals for additional housing and anti-inflation legislation.

Senator Eugene D. Millikin, of Colorado, chairman of the party conference, said the Republican Senators had agreed to hold the session to two or at most three weeks.

Other sources reported that a majority favored a drive to adjourn Congress by a week from Saturday.

Senator Millikin said that all points in the President's program would be referred to the appropriate committees, but promptly added that only those of "national importance" and "emergency character" had any chance of being acted upon at the special session.

Possible Legislation

Other Republicans said this boiled down to the prospect that, if Congress enacted anything at the special session other than the anti-poll tax bill, it would be:

1. A few of the President's secondary anti-inflation proposals, such as those to restrict consumer credit and give the President greater powers to regulate bank credit and currency.

2. Some relatively minor changes in the housing legislation passed last month to provide greater stimulation for private building.

Republican leaders emphasized that the anti-poll tax filibuster in the Senate would not be permitted to delay or block consideration of anti-inflation or housing legislation.

The civil-rights battle, they said, will rather fill in time until the Banking Committees prepare other legislation, and will be interrupted whenever any other measure is ready for the Senate floor.

Senator Taft said the strategy would be to let debate on the anti-poll tax measure go on tomorrow and Friday, with normal noon-to-6 p. m. sessions, but he warned that the leadership might throw the Senate into continuous day-and-night sessions starting Monday in the face of any filibuster.

Twenty-One Ready to Talk

Senator Richard B. Russell, Democrat, of Georgia, who gave sings of speaking at length even today until it was assured that the poll-tax bill would not be called up until tomorrow, said twenty-one Southern Senators were ready to talk. Sixteen of these met in the office of Senator Tom Stewart, of Tennessee, to plan their tactics.

The Senate put in a routine three-and-a-half-hour session this afternoon marked only by the brief flurry over the proposal—first advanced by Senator Carl Hayden, Democrat, of Arizona—to compromise the anti-poll-tax bill.

A dozen or so bills were introduced—none having any chance of passage at the special session—and most of the members either made speeches or inserted old speeches in the Congressional record.

The House is also scheduled to meet at noon tomorrow, but Speaker Joseph W. Martin jr., of Massachusetts, said it would adjourn promptly until Monday—having nothing to do.

Democrats denounced today the Republican plans to cut the special session short and ignore most of the points in the President's comprehensive program.

"If that is their position, the American people will be terribly unimpressed with their pronouncement," said Senator J. Howard McGrath, of Rhode Island, the Democratic National chairman. "I don't think any party can win an election with a 'public be hanged' motto around their necks."

President Truman had no comment, but may have something to say on the subject at his weekly press conference at 4 p. m. tomorrow.

The White House said that the President had received "about 100" telegrams this morning on his message to Congress yesterday and that they were running 20-to-1 in favor of his proposals.

HAVE 'ACE IN THE HOLE'

Unbeatable Technique Is Open To South's Senators By 'Amending Journal'

BY LEE NICHOLS
United Press Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, July 25.—Southern Democratic senators, willing to take the blame for tying up the special session of Congress, unlimbered Sunday for what may be a foolproof filibuster to bar passage of racial rights bills.

Republican leaders are ready to call up President Truman's racial rights proposals as the first order of business in the Senate. They have two motives: To widen the political breach between the Administration and the Southern Democrats, and to saddle the Democrats with blame for blocking special session legislation.

Southerners To Huddle

The G. O. P. bosses are expected to draft their strategy in meetings both before and after the returning lawmakers convene.

The rebellious Dixie senators will huddle either sometime Monday or Tuesday. They are "ready to take the blame" for whatever happens, so long as no civil rights measures pass.

Parliamentary experts said Sunday that unless someone steals a march during the first day or two, the Dixie Democrats have an unbeatable filibuster technique handy to throttle any civil rights bill.

The system is known as "amending the Journal." At the beginning of each new legislative day, the Journal of the previous day's proceedings comes up for approval. Senate rules provide it must be gotten out of the way before any other business can be taken up.

No Bars Are Provided

Usually the Journal is "dispensed with" by unanimous consent. But if someone wants to prevent certain legislation from coming up, he can demand that it be read in full, and then start amending it.

There is no bar to the number or nature of amendments and debate on each amendment is unlimited.

What is more important, it has been held that the Senate's famous

"gag" rule cannot be used to shut off a talkathon based on amending the Journal.

That is because the "gag" or "cloture" rule, whereby two-thirds of the senators can order debate cut to one hour per senator, applies only to a "measure," and the Journal is not a measure.

1946 Victory Recalled

Previous attempts to break this type of filibuster have failed. The most recent one was in January-February of 1946. For 21 days Southern senators "discussed" two amendments to the Journal of Jan. 17 to block an effort by Senator Dennis Chavez (D., N. M.) to get action on a Fair Employment Practice Bill.

Only when the Southerners knew that they had enough votes to beat a "gag" on the FEPC bill did they permit the bill to come up.

Reconvened Congress to Get Truman Ideas Today

Legislators Await Program; Filibuster Seen as Southern Senators Caucus

By Robert C. Albright
Post Reporter

The hot and bothered Eightieth Congress reassembled yesterday with its fingers crossed as President Truman completed an 11-point legislative challenge for personal delivery today.

A trio of issues in the President's program, price control, housing and civil rights, touched off a preliminary political skirmish but Republican leaders issued a temporary "hold-fire" order.

All it amounted to was an overnight truce. Legislatively, anything is likely to happen following Mr. Truman's appearance before a joint session at 12:30 p. m. today.

Southern Filibuster Likely

A Southern Democratic filibuster, to end all filibusters, seemed the most likely early development as Mr. Truman decided to push his party's civil rights plank.

The Senate's routine opening was all over in 11 minutes. But House Democrats and Republicans for an hour and 50 minutes had it hot and heavy over who was to blame for high prices and short housing.

In these other developments:

1. Republican leaders held a round of conferences without reaching any decision on either the length or subject matter of the session. A two-House GOP high command huddle, and a later Senate Republican Steering conference, agreed to let the President cast the first stone.

Southern Senators Organize

2. Nineteen of the Senate's 22 Southern Democrats met and organized for what Senator Richard B. Russell (D., Ga.) described as "a fight to the limit of our ability" against anti-poll tax, anti-lynch or FEPC legislation. All three bills are on the Senate calendar and a simple motion will touch off a filibuster blocking any other Senate action for weeks.

3. President Truman conferred with Senator Alben Barkley (D., Ky.), his vice presidential running mate, and other top House and Senate leaders, on the contents of his message. Later the White House made public a "score card for the special session," disclosing the 11 measures Mr. Truman will underline in his message.

Anti-Inflation Bill First

An anti-inflation bill led the list. Details were not disclosed but the President was reported ready to ask for controls on meat and other "selected" items, without reviving price ceilings generally.

Other measures on the program, mostly gleaned from last session's unfinished business:

The Senate-passed Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill, now blocked in the House Banking and Rules Committees.

A minimum wage increase from 40 to 75 cents.

The Senate-passed Federal-aid-to-eduction bill, now in the House Labor Committee.

Expanded social security coverage and benefits.

Reform of Federal pay scales.

A civil-rights program.

A new displaced-persons bills removing alleged discriminations against Jews and Catholics in the act passed last session.

A 65-million-dollar loan for completion of United Nations headquarters in New York.

Senate ratification of the international wheat agreement.

Restoration of 56 million dollars for power and reclamation projects, including four million dollars to start the TVA steam plant, rejected last session.

All of these measures, and what to do about them, figured in the Republican leadership conferences, along with the most popular GOP query, "When do we adjourn?"

House Speaker Joseph W. Martin, jr., (Mass.) said no decisions were reached at an early-morning huddle, and none will be until "we hear what the President has to say."

Senate GOP Group Meets

Senator Robert A. Taft (Ohio) said a late afternoon conference of his Senate GOP steering committee went over the same ground without deciding what to do. GOP Senators up for relection sat in with the GOP policy group. Taft said they were consulted on the political issues in their States.

The Ohioan said some of the Senators present advocated an immediate adjournment, but a decision on that question, along with various proposals for a GOP program, went over until today when the leaders will hold another huddle. "We'll probably be able to tell you tomorrow," Taft told reporters.

It was learned that at least two of the leaders, Senator Taft and Representative Charles A. Halleck (Ind.) turned down a Mutual Broadcasting Co. offer of radio time tonight to reply to the President.

Dewey May Answer Message

One Republican who sat in on the two-House party parley said a formal reply by Gov Thomas E. Dewey is being discussed instead, and Republicans may "demand" the same time from all radio networks allotted the President today.

House Appropriations Chairman John Taber (R., N. Y.) said he favored passing a resolution paying members 'railroad mileage and adjourning at once.

Senator Edward V. Robertson (R., Wyo.) called it a "shot-gun" session. He said he urged the Republican policy committee to adjourn Congress until November 8.

Senator Russell, who presided at the 19-man Southern Democratic caucus told reporters that "a majority of this group would vote to adjourn sine die."

Southerners to Try Persuasion

All but three Southern Senators, J. William Fulbright, Arkansas; Kenneth McKellar, Tennessee, and Claude Pepper, Florida, attended the caucus called to chart opposition to the civil rights measures. Fulbright and McKellar were out of town. Russell said Pepper "has never been invited to these meetings" because he sponsored an antipoll tax bill and revision of Senate debate rules.

Russell told reporters he "didn't like the word filibuster," but some of the Senators "will speak at length."

"We will use reason and persuasion to get our case before the country," he said.

Terming it a fight "to preserve our dual system of government," he told reporters: "It won't be another Appomatox. We might be wiped out but we won't surrender."

Hope to Block Cloture

In an effort to block cloture (a two-thirds vote shutting off debate), it was learned the Southerners plan to launc htheir filibuster against any motion to call up a civil rights bill.

Normally, cloture does not apply to debate on a motion to call up a bill. What the Southerners fear is that this time an appeal may be taken from the ruling of the chair on that point. By a simple majority vote, sustaining the appeal, the Senate could then decide that cloture applies to such a motion.

Opening special session preliminaries consisted mainly of a quorum call in the Senate. It turned out 65 Senators. Across the Capitol, 310 House members answered the roll.

McCormack's Schedule

In the speechmaking that followed, centering around whose to blame for the high cost of living and the housing shortage:

House Democratic Whip John McCormack (Mass.) called for action to check the price rise and ease the housing shortage, noting that both party platforms are in agreement on a long-range housing program. House Republican Leader Charles A. Halleck (R., Ind.) asked McCormack if he was giving a preview of what was in the President's message. McCormack said he didn't know what was in the message but he did know about conditions in the country and "Congress ought to give the people a break."

Umbrellas Advised for GOPs

Representative George H. Bender (R., Ohio) charged the special session is a "continuation" of the Democratic convention. He told of the pigeons released in Philadelphia's Convention Hall after Mr. Truman's acceptance speech and discussed "the habits of pigeons." He said members should equip themselves with umbrellas when they come to hear the President today.

Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas (D., Calif.) said members ought to stop arguing over "who did what . . . housewives can't pay bills with speeches." Mrs. Douglas predicted President Truman will report to Congress on the high cost of living and housing. She said she was thankful Republicans now recognize such problems do exist.

Sees Quick Housing Passage

Representative Jacob J. Javits (R., N. Y.) termed housing "stil the No. 1 domestic bill" before the House ,and said a long-range housing bill will quickly become law if members will sign the pending discharge petition.

Representative Reid F. Murray (R., Wis.) defended farm price levels and suggested farm price critics get a taste of the farm problem by raising their own food. Murray said Mr. Truman can handle the situation "whenever he wants to" by controlling prices at the wholesale level.

FILIBUSTER TACTICS

Dixie Senators Begin Anti-Poll Tax Attack

WASHINGTON, July 29—(AP)—Anti-poll tax legislation was brought up in the Senate today and southerners immediately began filibustering tactics.

It was evident that this first measure to get consideration in the special Congress session would draw a lot of talk, but probably no action.

Prospects were no brighter, either, for President Truman's anti-inflation program. Paul Porter, former OPA administrator, took a detailed bill embracing the program before the House Banking Committee. It asks price control and rationing power and aims at shoving prices of cost-of-living items back toward November, 1947, levels.

A storm of GOP hostility greeted Porter and the bill. Chairman Wolcott (R-Mich) said the administration had powers it was not using. He also asserted that President Truman broke "the price line" by encouraging a wage increase for steel workers near the end of the war.

The anti-poll tax legislation would outlaw payment of state poll taxes as a requirement for voting in federal elections. It has passed the House.

Senator Wherry (R-Neb.) moved that the Senate consider it, saying he did so in a "hopeful spirit."

Senator Russell (D-Ga.) promptly started delaying tactics. He asked a quorum call. This is a call of the roll to determine whether a majority of the Senate is present.

Senator Stennis (D-Miss.) was ready to make a long speech.

For several hours late yesterday it appeared that a "gentleman's agreement" might avoid a talkfest on the politically explosive issue. Russell said Southerners would drop their fight if the Republicans would agree (A) to call up only the poll tax repealer this session and (B) to change that house-passed bill into a proposed constitutional amendment. Since that would require ratification by 36 of the 48 states, the 11 Southern states, if they stuck together, would need only two more votes to block it.

34 1948 General

WASHINGTON WIRE

THIS is the Republicans' week, with their Lincoln Day dinners. Next is the Democrats', with their Jefferson-Jackson Day anniversary, which really isn't an aniversary of anything but just makes a handy date. President Truman speaks at the latter, February 19, in a talk which launches his reëlection campaign, whether he acknowledges it or not.

Truman has decided to go out and show himself more to the public. That accounts for the New York St. Patrick's Day dinner trip, March 17, and there'll be others. So many Senators are out of town orating now, for one side or another, that all but unanimous-consent votes have been suspended for a fortnight.

Politics sharpens in Congress. Each side is trying to put the other in a hole. That accounts for the sudden flurry over civil rights, anti-lynching laws, and the rest. It sounds rather cynical to say it, but these bills are hardy biennials. We favor them, of course, but no longer get worked up, as we once did, over this formalized political chess game.

The GOP knows it can set off a standardized Southern "revolt" every two years, just before election, by bringing in the bills. Truman beat them to it this year by issuing his own message on civil rights. It was a fine document in many ways, but he showed his customary catch-all universalism by including such irrelevant matters as statehood for Alaska and Hawaii.

"Usual revolt." Well, now the South is staging its customary "revolt," but it is not apt to get anywhere because there is nowhere else for the South to go. A revolt that meant a two-party system in the South would be a splendid thing, but the poll-tax Southerners know they gain more by sticking to the present setup than by leaving it.

On the other side, we doubt whether the Republicans will really do much about lynching and similar laws. Some of the biennial enthusiasm is synthetic: what they are after is to produce a good, rousing Southern filibuster that will show up the Democratic schism. In fact, such a filibuster should appear before long. Theoretically, the Senate can apply cloture, but it has only done so four times in the past 30 years.

"EQUALITY OF REPRESENTATION"

From the United States Conference of Mayors comes a document, buttressed with charts and statistics, voicing a plea for "equality of representation" in state legislatures. The mayors complain the cities are "under-represented" in state lawmaking bodies and that legislatures as now constituted often act against the best interests of urban majorities. Action injurious to cities is listed to include such things as preempting local tax sources, failure to authorized local actions and "destroying home rule."

The mayors make out a good statistical case. Their figures show that the urban population of the United States, 59 per cent of the total, elects only 25 per cent of the state legislators, while the 41 per cent rural population elects 75 per cent. And, we are told, 90 per cent of all taxes, Federal state and local, are paid by the 59 per cent of the population living in cities and the larger towns.

In Alabama as in many other states there has been no reapportionment in the legislature in keeping with population shifts. When the present constitution was adopted in 1901 it directed the legislature to reapportion after each decennial Federal census. This mandate has been ignored.

The difficulty is rooted deep in human nature and practical politics. Reapportionment requires affirmative action by the legislature as now constituted. If it amounted to anything, some counties would lose in representation, relatively if not actually, while others would gain. Spokesmen of counties that stand to lose have been hard to win around to "cutting their own throats," while those that stand to gain lack the strength under the existing setup to perform the operation.

Numerous candidates for governor have given lip service to reapportionment. Settled in office, however, they found that reapportionment figured as a sort of intangible achievement. It was not something that rated as a must, like passing a revenue bill, or that would make everybody happy, like boosting appropriations to schools and other worthy causes. Legislators in favor were divided as to details of a plan, while a hard core of opposition mustered some of the best political brains in the state.

There is another angle, referred to in the mayors' document. It points out that in 1790 only five per cent of the people of this country lived in cities or towns of over 2,500 population. This urban minority we are told "was generally distrusted by the farmers who made up the bulk of the population."

Something of this distrust still lingers on the political side. We still hear urban political machines depicted as "corrupt", urban industrial voters as "radical." The feeling that the situation is in "safer" hands under the existing setup is found among some who live in cities.

Another argument used to defend the existing order is the fact that the constitution of the United States gives each state two senators, regardless of population. It is contended that this should reasonably apply to counties within a state. This argument overlooks the fact that representation in the house of representatives of Congress is on a population basis and that this is far from being the case in actual practice in numerous state legislatures.

Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt

In what she liked to call "the twilight of my life," Edith Carow Roosevelt, born the year the Civil War broke over the nation, could look back a long way. Union Square is very different today from when she spent her youth in a brownstone house on Fourteenth Street, a little girl in old New York. There are few New Yorkers who can remember the town of Edith Carow's childhood, but there are many who can remember when the quiet, serene-faced girl, who had become the second wife of Theodore Roosevelt, presided over the White House with graciousness, tact and dignity during one of its most brilliant social periods. It was a seven years that more than ever, perhaps, since the days of Tad and Willie Lincoln, brought lively White House children into headlines and news pictures. For the Roosevelts could gather around them on Pennsylvania Avenue four sons, a daughter and a stepdaughter.

A devoted mother who on one occasion nursed a boy for a week of sleepless nights, it was the more tragic that Mrs. Roosevelt's last years should have been passed with but one son surviving from that young quartette which had romped through the White House and grown to manhood and uniforms. All of the four boys enlisted in World War I. Quentin, the youngest, was shot down in air battle over France in July, 1918. And less than six months later Theodore Roosevelt, twenty-sixth President of the United States, died at the Sagamore Hill estate at Oyster Bay, L. I., where the Roosevelts had lived since leaving the White House in 1909. World War II was to see two more of a widowed Edith Roosevelt's sons die—Kermit in Alaska and Theodore jr. in Normandy. The little girl who had been born in a war year had lived to pay heavily the price that wars demand of mothers.

In a tradition of effacement which she began even before her White House years, Mrs. Roosevelt was probably the least publicized of Presidential wives. After Theodore Roosevelt's death her public appearances were few, although she traveled far and often, twice visiting Quentin Roosevelt's grave in France. Black-clad, low-voiced, in recent years her gentle, resolute face was not often seen beyond the acres of Sagamore Hill where she had come as a bride sixty-two years ago. In a book of travel sketches she had quoted Walter Savage Landor's line: "I warmed both hands before the fires of life." The fires for an eighty-seven-year-old Edith Roosevelt had burned long, brilliantly and, more than once, tragically. But they always lighted, as her friends and family knew so well, courage, loyalty and unselfishness.

Lynching, Poll Tax Measures Approved

74 Democrats in House Sign Pledge to Fight All Civil Rights' Bills

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON — (NNPA) — Proponents of the Ives bill to outlaw race and religious discrimination in employment beat the gun and got the measure on the Senate calendar last Thursday ahead of other civil rights proposals.

This was accomplished by Sen. Irving M. Ives (Rep., N.Y.), author of the bill, reporting the measure without a written report which will be filed within a day or two.

Calendar Preference Sought

The purpose of this maneuver was to get the Ives bill on the Senate calendar ahead of either the antilynching or the anti-poll tax bills.

Its proponents want it called up for Senate consideration and thus force a fight for its passage before an antilynching or anti-poll tax bill is considered.

Consequently the FEPC bill is the only civil rights measure now ready for Senate consideration. But whether it or one of the other two measures will be called up first depends upon the decision of the 51 Republican Senators.

Republican Strategy

After a meeting of the Republican Policy Committee last Thursday, Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, its chairman, said none of the civil rights proposals would be brought up for possibly six weeks.

The Senate Republican program calls for debate on the European recovery program, the tax reduction bill, aid to China, additional aid to Greece and Turkey, and Federal aid to education ahead of any civil rights proposal.

The original strategy of the GOP high command, agreed upon previously at a joint caucus of House-Senate leaders, is to push through only one civil rights bill, antilynching, at this session of Congress.

They take the position that Southern leaders cannot muster as strong a defense against lynching and mob rule as they can against FEPC legislation. But colored voters who prefer economic security to political patronage are pressing for passage of an FEPC bill first.

Lynching Bill Okeyed

Two other major civil rights measures were approved in committees last week.

A subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee on Wednesday approved the antilynching bill introduced last May 15 by Rep. Clifford O. Case (Rep., N.J.). The vote was 4 to 2.

Friends and Foes

Those voting for the bill were Representatives Cases; Edward J. Devitt (Rep., Minn.); William T. Byrne (Dem., N.Y.); and Michael A. Feighan (Dem., Ohio).

Voting against the bill were Representatives Frank Fellows (Rep., Maine); and Fadjo Cravens (Dem., Ark.).

Other Bills Pending

Approval of the Case bill by the full House Judiciary Committee is conceded, and Speaker Joseph W. Martin Jr. (Rep., Mass.), has assured debate—within two or three weeks—on the measure on the House floor.

The Senate Judiciary SubCommittee has three antilynching bills under consideration on which action is planned soon.

Poll Tax Bill Approved

The Senate Rules Subcommittee on Friday approved an anti-poll tax bill. The vote was 3 to 0.

Sen. William E. Jenner (Rep., Ind.), chairman of the subcommittee, said he was confident the full committee would report the bill favorably.

Miss. Spokesman Rebuffed

The subcommittee rejected a request by Sen. John C. Stennis (Dem., Miss.), that public hearings be held in the seven poll-tax States on the proposed bill.

Chairman Jenner ruled that such hearings were unnecessary, since the legislation had been "so thoroughly aired" before Congressional committees in recent years.

Although Southern Democrats in the Senate have threatened a filibuster against an anti-poll tax bill, it is doubtful if they can muster the votes to maintain it.

The House approved such a bill at the last session of Congress and undoubtedly would concur it if the Senate sent over a similar bill in the next few weeks.

Southerners Renew Threats

Approval of the Case antilynching bill by the House Judiciary subcommittee brought renewed threats from angry Southerners.

Rep. Oren Harris (Dem., Ark.) announced the names of 74 Democrats in the House who had signed a pledge to "oppose to the finish" the President's recommendations on lynching, poll taxes and racial segregation. Mr. Harris is secretary of the group.

Report Called "Insult'

Rep. Tom Murray (Dem., Tenn.) in a speech in the House, called the report of the President's Civil Rights Committee "a contemptible insult to the South."

He demanded that Charles E. Wilson, president of the General Electric Co., chairman of the committee, disclose who prepared it.

In hailing Senator Ives's maneuver in getting the FEPC bill on the Senate calendar, leaders of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, brought to Sen. Robert A. Taft's attention by letter, editorials supporting the bill in recent editions of the AFRO-AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS and the Chicago Defender.

Sparkman Brands Plan As Move To Influence Negro

NEW YORK, (INS)—President Truman's Civil Rights program was branded Wednesday as "unconstitutional, unwise and unworkable" by democratic Senator John J. Sparkman of Alabama.

Sparkman, speaking on America's Town Meeting Of The Air last night termed the program a political football . . . put into play every four years . . . to try to influence the Negro vote."

Republican Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon opposed Sparkman's argument as a "re-echo" of the states' rights claims which supported slavery before the Civil War.

Morse asserted:

"Thousands upon thousands of Americans live in dread that if one of their dark skinned fellow Americans commit a crime of violence, the safety of the rest may be jeopardized by mob law."

Morse added that there have been "533 lynchings since 1919."

Instead of an anti-lynch law and civil rights legislation, Sparkman urged:

"Brains, opportunity and character for the Negro will settle the question of civil rights. The best course to pursue in regard to the civil rights program in the South is to let it alone. Let it alone and it will settle itself."

NEGRO URGES SENATE TO EXCLUDE EASTLAND

Four Other Southerners Named In Council's Charges

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Nov. 26.—A request that Senator Eastland (D., Miss.) and four other Southern senators be barred from the Senate was filed Friday with the Senate subcommittee on privileges and elections by Edgar G. Brown, director of the National Negro Council.

Brown, who played a leading role in the successful fight two years ago to keep the late Senator Bilbo (D., Miss.) from taking the oath of office for a third term, asked that the newly elected senators from Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina be denied the oath.

The other senators, besides Senator Eastland, are Long, (D., La.), Sparkman (D., Ala.), Russell (D., Ga.) and Maybank (D., S. C.).

Although Brown demanded that immediate hearings be held in Jackson, Miss., New Orleans, Atlanta, and Columbia, S. C., there appeared to be little if any chance of the subcommittee even considering the petition until after the Democrats reorganize the Senate in January. Senator Jenner (R., Ind.), present subcommittee chairman, recently called off a scheduled hearing and said further action on other matters would be delayed until the Democrats take over.

Brown's petition was couched mostly in vague language about "widespread and organized terrorism and other illegalities in the primary and general elections of senators in Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina."

"We charge," the petition read, "that proceedings of the socalled Dixiecrat convention held last Summer in Birmingham, the speeches and resolutions embracing white supremacy and denial of civil rights to negroes are prima facie evidence of the organized plan of these five states to disfranchise 2,000,000 negro voters on account of race and color in violation of their constitutional right to vote."

As to Mississippi and Louisiana, Brown said "the obvious disproportionate number of actual voters in Mississippi and Louisiana as compared with population figures of the Census Bureau is prima facie evidence of long practiced, unholy, but unpunished violations of the Federal statutes and the constitutional right of some 1,000,000 negroes to vote."

Sen. Pepper Backs Truman Rights Plan

The Washington Post

By Robert C. Albright

Post Reporter

Two Southern feelers on a civil rights "compromise" were put out yesterday but only one real break occurred in the solid Dixie phalanx against the Democratic civil rights plank.

The compromise proposals came from Senators John J. Sparkman (D., Ala.) and J. William Fulbright (D., Ark.).

The lone Southern break to full indorsement of the President's civil rights program was made by Senator Claude Pepper (D., Fla.).

Sparkman Talks Compromise

Senator Sparkman, who has a 90 per cent batting average on Administration measures, led off the compromise talk.

The former House whip, who directed the Democratic speakers' bureau in the 1946 campaign, predicted the Democratic Party "will work out its differences" and said one way to do this is:

Hold up action on civil rights legislation at least until Congress can make an "unbiased" study of discriminatory practices against racial minorities, regardless of where they occur.

The Alabaman said he is considering presenting a resolution to this effect, and plans talks with leaders on both sides of the issue. He said he would link with it a study of economic conditions in areas where discrimination occurs "because I am convinced that the racial problem and economic opportunity are closely bound together."

He told newsmen a better understanding" of the problem was bound to emerge from such a study, along with more support for Federal aid to education, housing and other measures to alleviate conditions aimed at by FEPC and other equal rights measures.

As for antipoll tax and antilynching measures, Sparkman said Southern leaders already had agreed not to filibuster a constitutional amendment to abolish the poll tax. He said Southerners might go along with antilynching legislation if it is not aimed exclusively at the South.

Senator Fulbright said he was convinced a "fair compromise" could be worked out on the last two measures—antilynching and antipoll tax—but knew of none in the works on FEPC, the real crux of the party split.

Like Sparkman, Fulbright pointed out that Southern Senators offered to call off their last filibuster on the antipoll tax bill if a constitutional amendment to end poll taxes was substituted.

To end differences on antilynching legislation, Fulbright said, Congress need only specifically exempt States that already have adequate laws against lynching.

He said Virginia is a good example—"They haven't had a lynching there in 20 years."

But while these two Southerners talked compromise, Senator Pepper broke completely with Dixie colleagues to declare for enactment of the President's full civil rights program, "without delaying tactics of any kind."

The Floridian said he did so knowing it would make reelection trouble for him when he runs again in 1950.

Pepper said the President's civil rights measures have been misrepresented in the South, "by Dixiecrats who get elected by fanning up the race issue."

He told newsmen he will support antipoll tax, antilynching and even FEPC legislation "though I want to scrutinize the last very closely." He said FEPC has been misrepresented as "meaning no segregation in the South, when it doesn't mean that at all."

A fourth Southern Democrat meanwhile, came out of the White Hous estill avowing his unvhanged opposition to the President's civil rights program.

He was Senator Allen J. Ellender (D., La.), but he said the question did not arise during his talk with Mr. Truman. "He knows where I stand," said Ellender.

Broad Study Proposed

Senator Sparkman said his proposed Congressional study of racial problems in all sections of the country would encompass the condition of Negroes in Harlem, Puerto Ricans in the New York District of Marcantonio (ALP), and other racial groups in California, in addition to racial problems in the South and elsewhere.

Sparkman said he proposed to tie it into an economic study because "most of our race problems cause Negro the opportunity to give us the opportunity he's entitled to."

In some Southern cities, Sparkman said, Negroes have received a proportionate break in educational facilities. He said more than a 41 per cent of Negroes are more concerned with economic segregation than they are with social segregation," said Sparkman. "I'm not saying we haven't discriminated against them in the South. Of course, we have in the South and low cost housing legislation would help end such economic discrimination as is now practiced.

Face to Face

The poll-taxers are revolting—but against whom and what?

By Benjamin J. Davis
(Member, New York City Council)

AS NEVER BEFORE, Negroes, particularly in the South, are militantly battling for full citizenship rights. Labor, progressives and the democratic white masses are supporting them on a wide scale. The Wallace-for-President and third party movements have projected Negro and other minority rights—as well as general civil liberties—into the 1948 arena as one of the central issues of the elections.

In the first place, the Democratic Party, as such, has never been—nor is it now—the champion of Negro rights or of civil liberties. Rankin and his ilk rule the Democratic Party in the South (and to some extent, in the North). The Democratic Party in the North is formally led by Truman who harks from Jimcrow Missouri and, like the GOP, is actually dominated by Wall Street monopolies.

The Democratic Party is no more a threat to the fascist Rankins in the South than is the Republican Party, which everyone knows teams up with the Southern polltaxers to throttle progressive legislation in Congress. The idea that the revolt is directed against Truman is largely unfounded propaganda in Truman's favor, even though the white supremacists do not like Truman's mere lip-service to Negro rights.

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TRUMAN does not have the slightest intention of carrying out in deeds his glib civil rights message. He has been President since 1945, but it is only in 1948 that he utters such words—and that too, after killing the FEPC by upholding job discrimination on the Capital transit lines.

He speaks Negro rights, but he acts white supremacy. This is an election year—the most crucial in America's long history and Truman has his eye on the Negro who is decisive in states determining 228 electoral votes.

What of the Republicans? They also are seeking to capture the Negro people, who are thoroughly disillusioned with Truman, by getting their votes in the cheapest possible manner. Taft and the other GOP hopefuls in Washington are now maneuvering with the FEPC, anti-lynch and anti-polltax bills. They, as the Republican Hitlerite Congressman of Michigan, Clare Hoffman, unwittingly revealed, would like to wean from Truman the backing of the die-hard polltax fuehrers, and at the same time seduce the Negro vote in the Northern industrial centers.

Apparently, the GOP hopes to press these three bills just enough to get a filibuster which will block their passage and yet embarrass the Democrats. At the same time the Republicans will say to the Negroes and other minorities, "we tried to get them by, but the Democratic Party filibuster wouldn't let us!" This trick, which has been used for the last 50 years, does not even have the virtue of originality. At this stage, the GOP is maneuvering with its demagogy on a little more grandiose scale than Truman.

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ESSENTIALLY, THE REVOLT of the Southern polltax officials is a rebellion against the Constitution of the United States, an open conspiracy to prevent, with force and violence, the enforcement of the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments. It is also a counter-revolt against the democratic pro-Wallace stirrings among the Southern masses who are beginning to threaten the dictatorial power of polltaxdom.

The Ku Klux Klan in Wrightsville, Ga., which last week barred Negroes from the polls with the threat of drowning them in their own blood, was a direct consequence of tnis defiant conspiracy. This, plus the barbarous assault and frame-up of Mrs. Rose Lee Ingram and her two teen age sons, starts a new reign of polltax-Klan terror in the South, unless immediately checked.

So the main issue is enforcement of the Constitution against this pro-fascist conspiracy to subvert the Constitution with force and violence—an issue which cannot be left to a convention decision or the political jockeying between Northern and Southern Democrats, or between the donkey party and the elephant party in July. On the contrary, this issue of democracy versus fascism requires immediate action now!

TRUMAN'S FIRM ACTION was to abscond to the Virgin Islands to get himself photographed with Bill Hastie to impress the Negroes back home, where he left the polltaxers to virtually take over. Polltaxer Tom Clark is so busy seizing Negro and white labor leaders who are fighting the lynchers that he is not concerned with the murderous Klan plots against the right to vote. The GOP is bringing its alliance with the Southern polltax lynchers into the open and is shamefully bidding for their white supremacy support.

The corrupt, tweedledum-tweedledee two-party system has become the principal obstacle to the enforcement of Negro rights and of the U. S. Constitution. The Wallace-for-President, third party movements offer the only way out—a fact being rapidly grasped by America's counter-attacking millions.

Labor and the Negro and white masses—the base of the Wallace third party movement—is in a position to compel passage of federal anti-discriminatory legislation and to effectively insist upon the smashing of the polltax conspiracy and the unseating of the Rankins who are arrogantly defying their sworn allegiance to the U. S. Constitution.

RALPH McGILL

The Whisper And the Smear

In a sense politics is, as they say, very often dirty business.

It is no wonder Europeans can't understand us or our system. Here we are, with the world about to blaze up again, with all sorts of pompous, swollen little men in Europe setting themselves up with secret police and forbidding any criticism and demanding a salute and cheer. Uncle Joe is second only to God and you can get life in jail for not making it plain you think so.

And here our President, head of the greatest power on earth, is hollering about the Congress and his opponents are calling him a jackass and a johnny-come-lately to a job too big for him.

It makes me just a little uncomfortable, but only because I am afraid some of those characters over there will think we have produced a sort of breakdown in our government. But, still, I guess it's all right.

Beds If you lie down with dogs you get up with fleas, and if you make your political bed you may get bed sores from lying in it.

But no one can argue that one of our political brawls with its barbs, smears, double-crosses, neat throat-cuttings and blood-lettings is an elevating sight or that it is easy to understand. It uses many weapons and methods.

Whispers The whispering campaign is one of its most contemptible weapons. The candidates will resort to almost anything, but even they leave the most degraded part to the vermin that crawl on the coat of every political campaign.

Sometimes it takes the form of pictures. I recall one of the worst examples. When Selective Service began the Government asked each board to promote a dinner for the first group to go. In Athens, Ga., the board gave a supper for each of the first group of draftees to go from both races. A photograph of the one for Negroes was sent out by the thousands. The idea, if there was one, must have been that it proved social equality in the university town. Obviously, only the worst sort of morons would pass out the pictures as having any such meaning, but it was and with no effect. It made no sense to anyone with any sense.

Now At the present time, for example, mental marvels who are simple-minded enough to get a sort of childish pleasure out of such things, are passing around a picture of Atlanta's Mayor on the auditorium stage standing by a Negro preacher extending greetings to a Negro Baptist convention. Just what significance that has remains a mystery. The Mayor of any city is called upon to greet all sorts of conventions, movie stars, Elsie, the Borden Cow, cowboy horses and so on. His job requires him to greet conventions. This present idiocy will cost the Mayor no votes. Indeed it will make him some. It is difficult to plumb the depths of such stewpot minds as would regard such a picture as having any meaning other than what it presents—greeting a convention.

The candidates who put out such pictures manage to find enough of the species classified as "Joe Jerkley" to do these jobs, but they have never paid off at the polls. The public sees through them.

Whispers The current whispering campaign in the State concerns Herman Talmadge. The whisper is that he is in his cups every day and in an institution every weekend. I am not familiar with Mr. Talmadge's customs, but it requires no detective or snooping to know that this report is ridiculous. I read the papers and I note that he is speaking once and twice a day about six days in each week, so I know he is not drunk or drinking, but on the contrary is bound to be in good condition. The usual whispering campaign requires only a normal sort of intelligence to reveal it for what it is—just a political vapor set to appeal to the

Southerners Battle Line Drawing Up

Special to The New York Times and The Courier-Journal.

Washington, July 26.—Presi- uniform sho without reg

line for Truman's 10-point civil-rights program which last February started the now-deep fissures in the Democratic Party.

The presidential orders, which require no Congressional approval, specified in detail the machinery to be employed to carry out both antidiscrimination programs.

Creates Advisory Group.

In the national military establishment Truman created an advisory committee called the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services. It will consist of seven members, none of whom was named today.

It was said, however, that one man who probably would be recommended for membership is Dr. Frank Graham, president of the University of North Carolina. It was believed he would be acceptable to North and South, Negro and white.

Within the federal departments and agencies the head of each was made personally responsible for the effective application of the policy. Furthermore, the order directed that a Fair Employment Board be formed from among members and employees of the Civil Service Commission. This, too, is to be a seven-member board, as yet unnamed.

Stipulates Rapid Application.

The Committee of the Armed Forces was given the mission of determining how present practices might be altered to carry out the presidential policy. In stipulating rapid application of the policy, Truman said it should be done with due regard to "the time required to effectuate any necessary changes without impairing efficiency or morale."

In the civil departments the heads of each were directed to designate an official as "fair-employment officer," who was charged with full responsibility for a nondiscrimination program. Provision was made for hearings of complaints, appeals, and disciplinary action.

Given 6-Point Program.

As the top agency in this program the Fair Employment Board in the Civil Service Commission was given a six-point program providing for review of decisions, drafting of regulations, advice on problems to all departments, publication of information relating to the program, co-ordination of the policy in all departments, and reports to the commission and the President.

While the orders did not say so explicitly, they clearly implied that they were designed to deal with the Negro problem. Both orders have their roots in the President's controversial civil-rights program and, further, in the report his Committee on Civil Rights issued late last year.

Segregation Not Mentioned.

A certain official promoting the rights of Negroes stated tonight that, while the orders were a step in the right direction, they called for the end of discrimination" and made no mention of ending "segregation." The proponents of the Negro cause declare that segregation is prima-facie evidence of discrimination.

In the absence of a deadline for action in the military order and its omission of the question of segregation, the official saw "a pretty good political approach" which should not affront Southern Democrats too greatly.

Meanwhile Southerners in Congress took a position of entrenched desperation against civil-rights legislation.

They made no public concession to imminent defeat.

Nevertheless, it can be stated on competent authority that tonight, after anxious consultations, they held no real hope of beating off one or indeed more of the civil-rights bills, assuming that the Republicans and Northern Democrats put in the overwhelming attack of which they are capable.

The main purpose nowof the Southern leaders, it was learned, is to force a prolonged debate intended for the first time to take the South's "States'-rights" case to the country in a planned, comprehensive, temperate way.

Some of the ablest speakers of the Senate will be used in this panel, which will try to wrest the initiative from Southern extremists.

'Fixed In Our Purpose.'

The effort will be to present the intellectual and constitutional objections held in the South to any federal invasion of powers historically held by the States.

The general shape of this forthcoming tactic emerged late in the day at the end of a war council of Southern senators. With a solidarity rare in Congressional life, 19 of the 22 senators from the old Confederate South declared through their chairman, Senator Russell of Georgia:

"We are fixed in our purpose to fight to the limit of our ability to preserve the dual system of government in the United States. In this we shall use every resource at our command."

Present at the caucus were such persons as Senator Connally of Texas, one of the Congressional "fathers" of the United Nations as former chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and Senator George of Georgia, former chairman of the Finance Committee.

Pepper Excluded.

The 19 would have been joined by the others, Senators Fulbright of Arkansas and McKellar of Tennessee, except for their absence from the city. The 22d Southern senator, Pepper of Florida, was asked pointedly not to attend.

"Senator Pepper," said Senator Russell, "has never been invited to these conferences, because he himself in the past introduced anti-poll-tax legislation."

Russell declined to predict an an eventual Southern victory, observing, "We have not abandoned hope, although the odds against us are greater than they have ever been."

Then he added, "There'll never be an Appomattox for us; we may be wiped out, but we shall never surrender."

A majority of the 19 Southerners had indicated a willingness, Russell reported, to support any motion for an immediate adjournment of Congress. But, he added, there had been no decision among the Southerners to initiate such a maneuver.

Truman to Ask Quick Passage Of 11 Measures

Will Stress That Hearings Have Been Held on All; Prices, Housing Top List

By Carl Levin

WASHINGTON, July 26.—President Truman gave Democratic Congressional leaders a preview today of the message he will deliver to Congress tomorrw demanding legislation in eleven separate fields.

At the same time the White House made public what it called a "Score Card for Special Session" showing that Congressional hearings have already been held on all eleven subjects. The purpose of this, Charles G. Ross, the President's press secretary, explained was to demonstrate that action on all eleven subjects is possible at the special session which started today at the call of Mr. Truman.

The compilation revealed that the President will ask special session action on: Inflation; housing; Federal aid to education; minimum wages, raising the floor from 40 to 75 cents an hour; social security, broadening the coverage to include new classes of workers and an increase in benefits; reform of Federal pay scales, to raise the level of Federal salaries in many categories; civil rights;

Also, displaced persons, including correction of injustices which the President considers are incorporated in the bill passed last month; United Nations loan, on which he will ask approval of a $65,000,000 loan for construction of U. N. headquarters in New York City; ratification of the international wheat agreement to assure a continued foreign market for American wheat during the next five years, and restoration of funds for power projects, to replace cuts made in appropriation bills last month.

Most of the points in the program which the President will lay before Congress were singled out by him for special mention in his criticism of the Eightieth Congress in his address at Philadelphia on July 15 accepting the Democratic Presidential nomination.

There was no indication today, however, that he will ask the special session to enact national health legislation, such as he has advocated in the past and which he again mentioned in his acceptance speech. It was believed that he may have decided not to ask for a medical care bill now because it would be necessary to hold public hearings which might require considerable time.

The speech, before a joint session of Congress, will parallel in some respects, particularly in its demands for a comprehensive anti-inflation program, the address which he delivered to Congress last Nov. 17 when he similarly called it into special session. At that time he asked for foreign aid legislation (the European Recovery Program, now in operation), as well as anti-inflation measures.

On Air at 12:30

The President's speech, which will be carried over all radio networks, will begin at 12:30 p. m. and is expected to take about half an hour.

Senator Alben W. Barkley, of Kentucky, President Truman's running mate on the 1948 ticket, who was one of the Congressional leaders who went over the speech with the President at the White House today, told reporters that if Congress "gets busy and does the job," it could enact the entire eleven-point program in three to five weeks.

Senator J. Howard McGrath, of Rhode Island, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, who saw the President with the Congressional group, beamed his pleasure as he and his colleagues emerged from the President's office after being closeted with him for an hour.

Asked what proportion of the program he thought Congress would enact, the Democratic chairman said: "If the Republicans are smart they will enact it 100 per cent. You can quote me on that."

All of the conferees, however, were silent on the details of the message. It was believed, however, that the section on inflation will ask for the major parts of the ten-point program which the President requested but did not get last November. This would include authority to impose "selective" ceilings on wages and prices and to resume rationing of selected short supply items, if found necessary by the Administration. It would alos call for restored checks on consumer credit and authority to restrain the creation of inflationary bank credits. It might also call for strengthening of rent controls.

A proposed bill embodying anti-inflation authority which the President deems necessary is being drafted with the aid of Paul A. Porter, Washington attorney, who formerly was O. P. A. administrator. The White House expects to have the draft of the bill ready by Wednesday.

I Would Let More D. P.'s In

Last Friday the White House announced the amedments which Mr. Truman will ask in the displaced persons bill, which he denounced at the Democratic convention as "anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic." The amendments would eliminate all features of the law "whose effect is to discriminate by reason of race or religion," and, among other things, would increase the number of displaced persons who could enter the country under the special legislation. The law provides for the entry of 202,000 in two years. This would be raised to 402,000 in four years under the President's proposal.

The White House also has announced that in asking restoration of public power cuts Mr. Truman will request $56,000,000 for twenty-two projects which suffered appropriation cuts in the recent session.

The housing legislation which the President will request will be the Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill, which died in the final hours of the last session when the House refused to agree to public-housing provisions approved by the Senate.

The international wheat agreement which the President will ask Congress to approve does not require House action. As a result of the Senate's failure to approve the agreement at the recent session, Great Britain announced that she would hold off ratification until the United States acted, because without the United States as a party, the agreement meant nothing.

The accord between the United States, Canada and Australia, as the supplying nations, and the several nations which require wheat imports to feed their populations, provides for the purchase of 500,000,000 bushels of wheat a year for five years from the exporting countries. Of this sum the United States would be assured of a foreign market of 185,000,000 bushels annually at a guaranteed price, which would change from year to year.

Cheap Politicians

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: I have been a reader of your paper for many years and still appreciate it for its fairness to all questions, but feel sorry for it at times when it has to lie still and let such lies as Acting Gov. Thompson, Dan Duke and other cheap politicians spread among the good Negroes of our State against an organization that saved it, and is still doing so, from a few Yankee cheap politicians. Atlanta, Ga.

If it wasn't for these pint-size cheap politicians who are always looking for a handout, like hungry dogs, from the FEPC, PAC, NAACP and other BLACK boys, for the purpose of creating disunity among the two races in our State, it would be lots better off. Thurs.

Thomaston. 4-3-48 ALLIE CALLAHAN.

Un-American Committee To Probe Two-Front Subversive Activities

Memphis World Memphis, Tenn.
Fri. 1-16-48

Chairman Reveals Work Of Alvin Stokes, Jersan

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—Representative J. Parnell Thomas, of New Jersey, chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, disclosed last Thursday that his committee will investigate subversive activities on two fronts of racial activity.

One will be an inquiry into the activities of organizations which seek to exploit colored people and the other will be a hearing on persons attempting to spread anti-racial and anti-religious propaganda.

Mr. Thomas revealed that Alvin Stokes, a colored man, secretary to Sheriff Frank Livermore, of Bergen County, New Jersey, has been on leave from his job since April 21, last, and since that time has been working as an investigator for the Un-American Activities Committee. 1-16-48

Stokes, 42, lives at Westwood, New Jersey, where he received his high school education and where he has been active in church and political circles. He attended New York and Columbia universities. He is married and is the father of a son. He operates a real estate business in Englewood, New Jersey.

COLLECTED DATA

Mr. Stokes has spent the last nine months touring the nation and collecting information for the Un-American Activities Committee on subversive groups seeking to exploit colored people in this country. Memphis World

Representative Thomas said his undercover investigator had been in touch with colored people in every walk of life during his 9-month tour and would bring approximately thirty of them to Washington to testify at the hearings, tentatively scheduled to begin February 2.

"You can say," he told a reporter, "that some of these witnesses will be well known. They will be from every walk of life, including the sports world, the field of education, and stage and screen. Memphis, Tenn.

"Stokes has done a grand job. He has visited every state in the union in which there is a substantial Negro population. He has worked on road gangs, talked with educators, and mingled with Negroes in many places.

VALUABLE MATERIAL

"The information he will bring to the committee, together with that which will be furnished by witnesses, whom he will question, will be valuable and revealing."

"Stokes," the congressman added, "has not only been working for the committee but has been directing a large staff of Negroes who have been employed by the committee or helping it in its work. Memphis World

"He has had a great deal of help. He has been directing the efforts of many persons and has succeeded in keeping his work a secret." Memphis, Tenn.

Representative John McDowell, Republican, of Pennsylvania, who will handle the inquiry into racial intolerance and racial discrimination, already has announced that he will have Gerald L. K. Smith as a witness. A number of other persons also are to be called as witnesses. This hearing is scheduled to begin February 10, immediately after the close of the inquiry into groups which seek to exploit colored people. 1-16-48

Thomas Committee Report

New York Herald Tribune
Tribune — N. Y. N. Y.

A Reader Dissents From Editorial Conclusion On Results of Washington Spy Investigation

To the New York Herald Tribune:

Not all your readers, I should hope, will accept with entire agreement and ease of mind the statement in your leading editorial of Aug. 30 that the House Committee on Un-American Activities "is right in its conclusion that 'the risk that a few innocent people may be temporarily embarrassed' by its operations cannot override the national interest in getting at the truth." To one of them, at least, this complacent doctrine seems to run counter to ideas of Anglo-Saxon justice which he has always cherished. It rests, indeed, upon a view of the relationship between the public and the individual which I had supposed to be confined to quite other lands. The editors of the Herald Tribune must certainly be aware that "the national interest" is a cloak under which a thousand tyrannies have been practiced—and are still practiced in countries we like to believe less free than ours.

The choice of the word "embarrassed" may seem entirely apt to Mr. Dewey, upon finding the man he is said to favor as our next Secretary of State proclaimed less perspicacious, less vigilant to guard the public interest, than Mr. Thomas and his colleagues upon the committee; but it must sound bitterly ironic to the friends and relatives of the late Mr. Harry White, who has gone to his grave under the shadow of unproven charges which would make him out to have been something between a simpleton and a knave. It is somewhat more than "embarrassment" to be charged with violating the trust of public office in the interests of a foreign power, and the damage such charges may do to a man's fair name are not likely, in times like these, to be merely "temporary"; for proof of innocence, if subsequently established, travels without the impulse of sensationalism behind it, and seldom overtakes the rumor of guilt. It can hardly have escaped your attention that charges of this nature have been brought and the publicity that customarily attends the activities of this particular committee, and that they have been tried and determined in the press and over the radio of the entire nation; and all this without the safeguards our laws provide to protect the individual citizen, innocent or guilty, against the power of the State. Sun. 9-5-48

It is naturally disturbing to find proof that a nation allied with ours in arms appears to have been quite as interested in the secrets of our government as in those of the enemy; disheartening to learn that some American citizens were to be found who, by their own admission, employed themselves while their country was at war in attempts to secure confidential information for another power; but these things will astonish only the most unsophisticated. Mature citizens will feel, since such practices seem likely to continue, that means should be devised to bring any suspicion of the loyalty of those who hold public office under steady scrutiny by the most sagacious and best-seasoned citizens of the republic that we can find for such a service. Nor will they be comfortable to have the reputation of those who serve us in the government in the hands of men who take a casual view of any damage they may do the innocent.

Nothing that Mr. Thomas's committee has hitherto uncovered persuades me that the intelligence service of any of our friends or enemies is so efficient that it threatens to "enslave 140,000,000 Americans"; but whatever the peril, we should ourselves be intelligent and stout-hearted enough to find means to meet it within the traditions of liberty and justice that give us our principal distinction among the nations.

J. Parnell Thomas has Negro gum-shoe man

The Tribune Memphis, Tenn.
Sat. 1-24-48

WASHINGTON — A New Jersey Negro has been gathering evidence on "organizations which seek to exploit colored people" and will appear as witness before the House Un-American Activities Committee in February, chairman J. Parnell Thomas announced last week.

The Negro, Alvin Stokes, Bergen county sheriff's secretary on leave from his post, will also bring aproximately 80 Negroes to Washington to testify at the hearings, Thomas said.

Stokes, who is 42, will have conducted a 10-month-investigation when the hearings begin, Thomas said. He has visited each state where there is a substantial Negro population, and according to Thomas, has "worked on road gangs, talked with educators and mingled with Negroes in many places."

Also according to Thomas, "The information he will bring, together with that furnished by witnesses, whom he will question, will be valuable and revealing." Sat 1-24-48

Stokes, who is 42, married and a father lives in Westwood, N. J., and studied at New York and Columbia universities. He also operates a real estate business in Englewood, N. J.

The Un-American Activities Committee will follow these hearings with an inquiry into anti-racial and anti-religious propaganda to be conducted by Rep. John McDowell of Pennsylvania.

Representative Rankin Likely To Lose Seat in Primary

By KENNETH TOLER

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

TUPELO, Miss., July 31—Representative John Rankin, 66-year-old dean of the Mississippi Congressional delegation, faces the hardest campaign of his political career in the Aug. 24 Democratic primary in the First Congressional District. Observers in the district predict he will not win this year.

The major factor in the campaign is Mr. Rankin's long tenure and his refusal to "listen to" strong supporters in 1947 when he campaigned for the seat of the late Senator Theodore G. Bilbo. He was fifth in the five-man race which was won by John Stennis, former circuit judge of the Sixteenth Judicial District.

Mr. Rankin's long suit—white supremacy— is not a major factor in the present campaign. His two opponents, Circuit Judge Raymond Jarvis of Booneville, and Claude Clayton, a lawyer and former Circuit Judge, see eye-to-eye with him on that issue.

His opponents point out that Mr. Rankin can retire this year with an annual Congressional annuity of around $6,000 a year; and that removes some of the former support he might have had.

Rejection of Mr. Rankin would not mean a change of attitude of voters in the First District on states' rights, white supremacy and other issues which have played a major role in Mississippi elections. And no outside efforts have been noted to create that as an issue.

Indicative of the situation which Mr. Rankin faces is the fact that The Tupelo Journal in his home town is supporting Mr. Clayton, who is also of Tupelo.

Observers feel that Circuit Judge Jarvis has the inside track at the time. He is a popular judge and represents heavy voting counties in the upper section of the Congressional district.

Mr. Clayton is pushing Judge Jarvis, and some observers feel a run-off might be necessary between them to decide the post.

News Note: Alabama State Senator Albert Boutwell is urging unification of the governments of Birmingham and Jefferson County after a study of similar city-county projects in Georgia.

Citizenship Confab Gets Discord Note

The World
Memphis, Tenn.
Fri. 5-28-48

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA—The Third National Conference on Citizenship, sponsored by the Justice Department and the National Education Association, last Monday received a note of discord.

Four members of the Congress of Industrial Organization, invited to the sessions, in a letter to Attorney General Tom Clark protested what they termed "the unrepresentative and prejudiced composition of the the program".

Urging greater emphasis on "actual accomplishments in citizenship education," the four charged that the conference program was "totally lacking in representation from labor and other democratic groups whose record in the fight for progressive social legislation is second to none."

REPLY TO COMPLAINS

Replying to the complaint, conference program director Richard B. Kennan, secretary of the National Education Association, said speakers were chosen purely for their "abilty to discuss the subject directly."

He said both the CIO and the American of Labor were asked to send delegations larger than those from most other organizations pointed out that the CIO and AF of L are represented on the Attorney General's advisory committee on citizenship. 5-28-48

The conference lasted from Sunday, May 16, through Wednesday, May 19 and was attended by some 800 school, church, community and Government officials.

House Approved Measure By A Vote Of 49 to 1

Anti-Discrimination Bill Bottled Up In New Jersey Senate

CAMDEN, N. J. — (ANP) — A large number of civic organizations are pleading with state Senate leaders to break down the forces tying up the Freeman Anti-Discrimination Bill passed last week by the House, 49 to 1.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, president, American Jewish congress, called upon majority leader David Van Alstyne Jr. to get the bill on the floor to a vote. Dr. U. S. Wiggins, president of the Camden Branch NAACP, called upon Sen. Bruce Wallace (R.) of Camden county to help get the bill to the floor.

He asked Sen. Wallace to ask for a suspension of the rules to bring the bill to a vote.

These two organizations are all members of the Joint Council for Civil Rights, which includes the following organizations:

The AFL, the CIO, the Urban League, the League of Women Voters, the Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, the New Jersey Council of Churches, the State Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, the New Jersey Education Association, the State Federation of Teachers, the Jewish War Veterans, the American Veterans Committee and several American Legion posts. The New Jersey diocese of the Roman Catholic Church has also endorsed the bill.

Herbert H. Tate is chairman of the Joint Council, and Jerome C. Eisenberg, attorney.

34 1948

New York

CHARGE MORE HARLEM POLITICS WITH GRAFT

Daily Worker
Atlanta, Ga.

NEW YORK (ANP)—Once again New York's Negro political leaders have been named as graft recipients in job deals. Wed.

This unsavory situation among the Democratic big wigs of color prompts voters to ask what goes on.

Raymond Jones, Mayor O'Dwyer's "Harlem ear, arm and mouth" again finds it necessary to explain to the district attorney what his actions were in the naming of justice Valente for the disputed surrogate court nomination.

7-7-48

And also Joseph Ford and Joseph Pinckney, the Negro leader in the Harlem districts, were summoned to explain their voting for Justice Valente.

CLAIM PAYMENTS

Printed reports say that each of theseleaders was paid $1,000 to vote for Valente at a secret meeting held last week.

Ford,who holds a politically appointed job as chief examiner in the office of the borough president of Manhattan, told reporters he had appeared before the grand jury.

Jones also a political job holder, arrived at 12:30 p. m. and left at 6 p. m. He said he had not appeared bofore the grand jury. Jones said the bribery charges were an insult to Harlem as they were beginning to wollow a "pattern."

Sometime ago, Harlem's Negro political leaders were involved in a similar case when they were charged with attempting to peddle a big job —civil service commissioner— among Negroes for a fat sum.

Dist. Atty. Hogan is conducting the current investigation. All are Democrats. Wed. 7-7-48

TRUMAN WARNS PEACE RESTS ON U.S. STABILITY

Can't Delay Inflation Curbs, Congress Told

Washington, July 27 (AP)—The text of President Truman's message to the special session of congress today:

"The urgent needs of the American people require our presence here today.

"Our people demand legislative action by their government to do two things: First, to check inflation and the rising cost of living, and second, to help in meeting the acute housing shortage.

"These are matters which affect every American family. They also affect the entire world, for world peace depends upon the strength of our economy.

"Reds Counting On Collapse"

"The Communists, both here and abroad, are counting on our present prosperity turning into a depression. They do not believe that we can—or will—put the brake on high prices. They are counting on economic collapse in this country.

"If we should bring on another great depression in the United States by failing to control high prices, the world's hope for lasting peace would vanish. A depression in the United States would cut the ground from under the free nations of Europe. Economic collapse in this country would prevent the recovery thruout the world, which is essential to lasting peace. We would have only ourselves to blame for the tragedy that would follow.

"High Prices Not Waiting"

"In these tense days, when our strength is being tested all over the world, it would be reckless folly if we failed to act against inflation.

"High prices are not taking 'time off' for the election.

"High prices are not waiting until the next session of the congress.

"High prices are getting worse. They are getting worse every day.

"We cannot afford to wait for the next congress to act.

"The 81st congress will not get underway for nearly six months. Before the new congress could take action against high prices, it would have to draft new bills, study them, hold hearings, debate, and decide whether to pass them. It would be at least eight months from now before the new congress could pass the laws we need.

"Eight Months Too Long"

"Eight months more of inflation would be much too long.

"It was eight months ago—November, 1947—that I called a special session of this congress, and recommended a comprehensive anti-inflation program. But that program was not enacted. If it had been enacted, we would have lower prices today.

"Since last November, prices have gone even higher. As every housewife knows, food prices rose rapidly thruout 1947. They are climbing even faster now. Month after month, the cost of clothing, fuel and rent keeps on going up.

"The cost of living is now higher than ever before in our history.

Can't Risk Danger, He Says

"We cannot risk the danger, or suffer the hardship, of another eight months of doing nothing about high prices.

"Prices are already so high that last year more than one-fourth of the families of this country were forced to spend more than they earned. Families of low or moderate income are being priced out of the market for many of the necessities of life. They are able to buy less than they could two years ago, and they are paying a lot more for what they can buy.

"At the same time, industrial prices, which affect all business and employment, are rising, and rising fast. Large price increases have recently been announced by industries that set the pace for the whole economy. Within the last few days, the steel industry, for example, increased its prices, on an average, by more than $9 a ton.

Charges Balance Menaced

"The rise in industrial prices is just as important, in the long run, as the high cost of living. It is already squeezing the independent business man. It threatens to destroy a fair balance between industry and agriculture. It can end only in catastrophe if allowed to continue.

"In the face of these facts, it is foolish to point at every feeble straw as a sign that the danger is disappearing. In February, some people said that the break in commodity prices meant that inflation was almost over. They were wrong. Prices rose again.

Hits Foes Of Controls

"There are still some people who repeat the old argument which was used by those who killed price control two years ago. They said that if we would only take controls off, production would increase, prices would go down, and there would be more for everybody at a lower cost.

"The record shows unmistakably that this argument was false.

"Production has increased somewhat, and we want it to increase still more. But even with full employment, full use of available materials, and practically full use of plant capacity—all of which we have today—prices are still climbing much faster than production. It is obvious that we cannot rely solely on more production to curb high prices. Instead, we must attack inflation directly.

"Positive Action Overdue"

"If we do not stop inflation, production and employment will both fall sharply when the break comes.

"Positive action by this government is long overdue. It must be taken now.

"I, therefore, urge the congress to take strong, positive action to control inflation. I have reexamined the anti-inflation program I proposed to the congress eight months ago. In its essentials that program is as sound now as it was then. It has been revised and strengthened in the light of changing circumstances. The program I now propose is as follows:

"First, I recommend that an excess profits tax be re-established in order to provide a treasury surplus and provide a brake on inflation.

Urges Credit Controls

"Second, I recommend that consumer credit controls be restored in order to hold down inflationary credit.

"Third, I recommend that the federal reserve board be given greater authority to regulate inflationary bank credit.

"Fourth, I recommend that authority be granted to regulate speculation on the commodity exchanges.

"Fifth, I recommend that authority be granted for allocation and inventory control of scarce commodities which basically affect essential industrial production, or the cost of living.

"Sixth, I recommend that rent controls be strengthened, and that adequate appropriations be provided for enforcement, in order to prevent further unwarranted rent increases.

"Seventh, I recommend that stand-by authority be granted to ration those few products in short supply, which vitally affect the health and welfare of our people. On the basis of present facts, and unless further shortages occur, this authority might not have to be used at all.

Asks Price Controls

"Eighth, I recommend that price control be authorized for scarce commodities which basically affect essential industrial production or the cost of living. I have said before, and I repeat, that many profit margins have been adequate to absorb wage increases without the price increases that have followed. Rising wages and rising standards of living, based on increasing productivity and a fair distribution of income, is the American way. Noninflationary wage increases can and should continue to be made by free collective bargaining. Where the government imposes a price ceiling, wage adjustments which can be absorbed within the price ceiling should not be interfered with by the government. The government should have the authority, however, to limit wage adjustments which would force a break in a price ceiling, except where wage adjustments are essential to remedy hardship, to correct inequities, or to prevent an actual lowering of living standards.

Says Measures Necessary

"The measures I have recommended make up a balanced program to attack high prices. They are all necessary to check rising prices and safeguard our economy against the danger of depression. If they are made the first order of business by the congress, as they should be, they can be promptly enacted. Every week of delay will mean additional hardship for the American people.

"The second reason why I have called the congress back is that our people need legislation now to help meet the national housing shortage.

"We desperately need more housing at lower prices—prices which families of moderate income, particularly veterans' families, can afford to pay. We are not getting it.

"Need More Rental Housing"

"Even more urgently, we need more rental housing—especially rent housing. We are not getting it.

"Most of the housing now being built is for sale, or for rent at prices far above the reach of the average American family.

"I have recommended time and time again that the congress pass a comprehensive housing bill which would help us obtain more housing at lower prices—both for sale and for rent.

"A good housing bill, senate bill 866, known as the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, passed the senate on April 22. This bill would provide aid to cities in clearing slums and in building low rent housing projects. It would give extensive aid to the private home building industry. It includes provisions for farm housing, and for research to bring down building costs. It contains many other provisions, all aimed at getting more housing at lower prices and at lower rents.

Need It Now, He Says

"This is the bill we need. We need it now, not a year from now.

"If this legislation is passed this summer, it will be possible to start immediately the production of more houses of the kind our families need, at prices they can afford to pay. If it is not passed now, the 81st congress will have to start all over again with a new housing bill. In that case, we might lose a full year in meeting our national housing need.

"This congress can complete action on this comprehensive housing bill in a few days. I strongly urge that it do so.

Suggests Other Measures

"I have called the congress back primarily to deal with high prices and with the housing shortage. Delay on either of these items would be most dangerous. In addition, there are other important legislative measures on which delay would injure us at home or impair our world relations.

"I, therefore, recommend that the present session, without allowing anything to interfere with its vital work on legislation concerning high prices and housing, take action on certain other important measures. These measures can speedily be enacted now because of the amount of study already given to them by the congress.

Suggests Education Aid

"First, the congress should provide federal assistance to the states in meeting the present crisis in education. The children in our schools, and the men and women who teach there, have been made the victims of inflation. More children are entering school than ever before. But inflation has cut down the purchasing power of the money devoted to educational purposes. Teachers' salaries, for the most part, have lagged far behind increases in the cost of living. The overcrowding of our schools is seriously detrimental to the health and the education of our boys and girls. Every month that we delay in meeting this problem will cause damage that can never be repaired. Several million children of school age are unable to attend school, largely because of lack of facilities or teachers.

Awaits House Action

"To meet these vital educational needs, the congress should complete action on senate bill 472, which passed the senate on April 1. All that remains to be done is its passage by the house of representatives.

"Prompt action by the congress is also needed to help another group of our people who are suffering from inflation. These are the workers who depend on the protection of a minimum wage law. The present minimum wage is pitifully inadequate in the face of today's high prices. Proposals to raise minimum wages have long been before the congress. I urge that they be extended to the millions who are not now covered.

"Need Additional Proof"

"In our relations with the rest of the world, action is also needed at once, and can be taken quickly, to afford additional proof that we mean what we say when we talk about freedom, humanity, and international co-operation for peace and prosperity. Three measures are involved.

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"First, the congress should provide federal assistance to the states in meeting the present crisis in education. The children in our schools, and the men and women who teach there, have been made the victims of inflation. More children are entering school than ever before. But inflation has cut down the purchasing power of the money devoted to educational purposes. Teachers' salaries, for the most part, have lagged far behind increases in the cost of living. The overcrowding of our schools is seriously detrimental to the health and the education of our boys and girls. Every month that we delay in meeting this problem will cause damage that can never be repaired. Several million children of school age are unable to attend school, largely because of lack of facilities or teachers.

Awaits House Action

"To meet these vital educational needs, the congress should complete action on senate bill 472, which passed the senate on April 1. All that remains to be done is its passage by the house of representatives.

"Prompt action by the congress is also needed to help another group of our people who are suffering from inflation. These are the workers who depend on the protection of a minimum wage law. The present minimum wage is pitifully inadequate in the face of today's high prices. Proposals to raise minimum wages have long been before the congress. I urge that they be extended to the millions who are not now covered.

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"First, the displaced persons act in its present form discriminates unfairly against some displaced persons because of their religion, land of origin, or occupation. These provisions are contrary to all American ideals. This act should be promptly amended to wipe out these discriminations. Furthermore, the present act permits the entry of only 200,000 persons, and charges them against future immigration quotas. I believe strongly that the act should provide for the entry of 400,000 persons over a four year period, and they should be outside the normal immigration quotas. The act can and should be amended promptly. Daily Tribune

Urges Loan To U.N.

"Second, many people in the world must wonder how strongly we support the United Nations when we hesitate to assist the construction of its permanent home in this country. Legislation can and should be passed at once to authorize a loan by the United States government to the United Nations, for the construction of U.N. headquarters buildings in New York City.

"The international wheat agreement is another vital measure on which the congress should act. This agreement is designed to insure stability in the world wheat market in the years ahead when wheat will be more plentiful. It would guarantee American farmers an export market of 185 million bushels of wheat at a fair price during each of the next five years. Since the agreement is in the form of a treaty, it requires only ratification by the senate. Altho this agreement should have been ratified by July 1 of this year, we have good reason to believe that it can still be made effective if it is now ratified promptly.

Asks Power Project Funds

"Finally, I wish to call to the attention of the congress three other problems on which action can and should be taken at this session.

"The congress should reconsider its recent actions which cut sharply into our national electric power policy. There is an acute shortage of electric power in this country now. I am therefore resubmitting to the congress appropriation requests for certain power projects which must be provided right away. These requests include the TVA steam plant at New Johnsonville, Tenn., and certain other projects on which congressional reductions, if allowed to stand, will delay the production of power for a year or more. These appropriations should be promptly enacted, and at the same time certain crippling limitations should be removed from the law. Chicago Ill.

Federal Pay Reform Urged

"In the final days before adjourning in June, the congress passed a bill raising the salaries of some federal employes. However, this bill neglected long overdue reforms in federal pay scales and discriminated unfairly against certain groups of employes. The congress should take this opportunity to enact more equitable and realistic federal pay legislation.

"Finally, I wish again to urge upon the congress the measures I recommended last February to protect and extend basic civil rights of citizenship and human liberty. A number of bills to carry out my recommendations have been introduced in the congress. Many of them have already received careful consideration by congressional committees. Only one bill, however, has been enacted, a bill relating to the rights of Americans of Japanese origin. I believe that it is necessary to enact the laws I have recommended in order to make the guarantees of the Constitution real and vital. I believe they are necessary to carry out our American ideals of liberty and justice for all. Daily Tribune

Cautions Congress

"I hope there is no misunderstanding of the recommendations I have made. I have asked the congress to return, first of all, in order to meet the urgent need of our people for relief from high prices and the housing shortage. I urge the congress not to be distracted from these central purposes. Chicago Ill.

"At the same time, as I have stated, the congress can and should act on certain other important items of legislation at this special session.

"There are still other problems of great moment which vitally affect the welfare of the nation. I have discussed them in previous messages to this congress. I have made recommendations for legislation to meet them. I do not repeat them now—because the purposes and limited time of this special session do not readily permit action on them. Chicago Ill. 7-25-48

Urges Taft Law Repeal

"However, I feel just as strongly as ever that all of these measures are necessary. If the congress finds time to enact any of them now the country will greatly benefit. Certainly, the next congress should take them up immediately.

"These include: A comprehensive health program, based on health insurance; a fair and sound labor-management relations law—in place of the Taft-Hartley law which has proved to be unfair and unsound and which should be repealed; a real long range farm program; a stronger reciprocal trade agreements act; a universal training program; a national science foundation; strengthened anti-trust laws; and approval of the St. Lawrence waterway treaty.

"Test Of Our Vigor"

"The vigor of our democracy is judged by its ability to take decisive actions—actions which are necessary to maintain our physical and moral strength and to raise our standards of living. In these days of continued stress, the test of that vigor becomes more and more difficult. The legislative and executive branches of our government can meet that test today. 7-25-48

"The American people rightfully expect us to meet it together. I hope that the American people will not look to us in vain."

Standing Alone

John Temple Graves

"Two souls with but a single thought,
Two hearts that beat as one . . ."

"We can't any more become a political entity now than we could when John C. Calhoun . . . was advocating it," wrote Editor Ralph McGill sagely last Tuesday. Exactly four days before this, Editorial Editor Harry Ashmore, in The Arkansas Gazette, wrote: "The South today can no more stand alone as a political entity than it could in John C. Calhoun's time." I call this a remarkable coincidence, or something.

"The effort to break the political ties that bind us to the national political system can only result in a loss of our voice in national affairs," Editor Ashmore continued. I can't see how we would lose voice by making ourselves doubtful enough to be listened to. There is no proposal to establish an independent party, only to indicate ability on great occasion not to support the Democratic nominee.

The important thing is that in one way or another, by direct vote or vote in the electoral college, the South use this unusual opportunity to win national bargaining power by proving itself capable of not being "in the bag" for the Democrats. And such is the antipathy to the name "Republican" in the South, that the thing has more hope of accomplishment through withholding electoral votes from the Democratic nominee than giving popular ones to the Republican. Also, there would be a last chance this way for the Trumanites to repent.

It is easy to agree with Editor Ashmore when he says we should "justify the principle of social segregation to which we are dedicated" by giving the Negro "educational, economic and political opportunities." But it is not easy to see how the observation serves the immediate dilemma or to believe that one making it is really sensitive to the dilemma.

We should and must treat the Negro better on his side of the line. But no matter how we treat him federal force is going to be exerted or threatened from now on to destroy the line. That is assured in the fact, boasted by Walter White, that the Negro has the balance of power in 17 doubtful states. Unless and until the South gets for itself somehow a bargaining power as great as this Negro one, force bills are certain. We have an opportunity to achieve this bargaining power by fact that this year, for the first time, the vote of the South is necessary to Democratic victory. To this need and opportunity, Editor Ashmore contributes nothing. We deserve to be lectured by him, but some other time.

Even though it is the race question which makes the present occasion, that is only one of many reasons for the southern need of being free of one-partyism. We need to be doubtful as between the parties for proper attention nationally on many other matters, especially other ones involving the principle of states' rights as against federalism gone bureaucratically mad. We need to be doubtful, also, for more clarity and purity in disputes at home.

The "reduction to absurdity" in Mr. Ashmore's position came in a speech to Alabama editors last week. He told them (as quoted): "We can answer the demand for a federal anti-lynch law by demonstrating that it isn't needed by eradicating that crime whenever and wherever it turns up in the South." There will be logic in that for the national audience Mr. Ashmore has won, including Time Magazine, but his home folks know it is an absurdity as applying to the present situation. There was one lynching last year. That just doesn't leave enough room for improvement to stave off outside demand for a federal anti-lynch law. And the fact of there being such a demand, with only one lynching, proves it too political to have anything to do with lynching.

A New Southern Uproar

A new uproar of protest is developing in the South. This region is seething against efforts to impose national regulation of matters that Southerners generally regard as much better left to the states. There is talk of a third party; of electors being instructed not to vote for the nominee of the party on which ticket they ran, and of various other plans by which the South might force more consideration for its attitudes and feelings and customs.

The protests have received further fuel in the message on civil rights sent to Congress by President Truman. In that message the president aroused many Southern Democrats by urging federal legislation against the poll tax, lynching and job discrimination, and for a revival of the Fair Employment Practices Commission.

These have become familiar red flags in the South. They are matters which most Southerners believe should be handled by state action. This newspaper joins in that belief.

* * *

What is the need for federal anti-lynching legislation? Why should the South be needlessly irritated by federal laws on a matter that is rather steadily improving under state action? Last year there was only one lynching in the South, according to records of Tuskegee Institute. In the last 10 years only 37 persons have been lynched, of whom two were white persons.

Progress is being made in the South, also, in regard to poll tax elimination. Given time, without outside pressure, and that faulty restriction on voting would largely disappear from the seven states where it is still collected.

Sentiment in the South is improving, too, in regard to unfair employment practices. Federal action in that field would be prove unrealistic, and more harmful than beneficial.

But the South will show itself extremely short-sighted if it merely protests federal legislation against the evils that undoubtedly exist here in some degree, although not to the extent some of the South's critics appear to think. There is a call for positive action on the state and regional levels.

The gathering rebellion is putting too much energy into obstructive action and not enough on honest self-criticism and constructive self-improvement. It will not, therefore, exert influence on national politics comparable to the noise it is making.

When tempers cool, surely Southern Democrats will see the wisdom of remaining within the party and there working for moderation and a realistic understanding of the South's position.

To Achieve Nothing

If the South sets itself up as a separate party—and this is on its face a practical impossibility since the South is not a unit on these matters—it would lose more than it would gain.

South Carolina, Mississippi and Georgia might be able to get together on a Southern party; Alabama and Louisiana might be added in some of their manifestations, but even this would not be a cohesive group. There would be too many would-be leaders in it and too many partisans. The whole thing would blow up in a contest for control between South Carolina's Barnwell ring, Georgia's Talmadge, Mississippi's Rankin and Alabama's Folsom—even if they were able for a time to put personalities aside and form an organization.

But any party that included only the Southern states, even if it included all of the Southern states—and why should Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky, for examples, having achieved the beginning of a two-party system join in any such suicidal plan?—would be a party without influence. Southern electoral votes could have changed but three elections in the past 70 years—the two elections of Grover Cleveland and the second election of Woodrow Wilson.

And to accomplish this, which would be nothing, the South would have to divorce itself from the Democratic and Republicans parties, surrendering its committee seniority for Southern members of Congress, abandoning the influence it has wielded in the nominating conventions.

It doesn't make sense, either as politics or as anything else.

The Two-Party System

The influence of any pressure group in national politics is based on the balance of power.

If organized labor, organized farmers, organized Negroes can convince the Senators or Representatives from Pennsylvania or New York, Michigan or Illinois that they may possess the balance of power in an election in any one of these states they may be able to vote them as they see fit.

And if the states in which they claim the balance of power—claims and reality being always two different things—are important enough in the presidential elections they may be able to win the support of one party or another or both for legislation they desire.

But the South doesn't possess the balance of power in the nation, except in extraordinary years—three times since 1876. And it cannot make itself an effective pressure group, even if it tried.

To become an effective minority group Southerners would have to remain Southerners when they move to New York or Michigan or Pennsylvania. And they do not; some of them even become Republicans.

If the South wants to get out of the political bag—and it should—the remedy is much simpler. All it needs to do is to build up two fairly equal parties in the Southern states, making the outcome in any presidential election doubtful in every Southern state. In that event eight electoral votes in the South would be as important as eight electoral votes anywhere else and as much sought after.

NEGRO IN SOUTH STILL LAGS IN POLITICAL POWER

In Some Areas His Influence Is Rising But 'White Supremacy' Is Unshaken

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 14—Despite the furor in Southern Democratic ranks in recent months over Federal Administration and court moves to strengthen Negro civil rights, there is nothing to indicate that the Negro has yet become a solid political power in Dixie.

Southerners of every belief and disposition were quick in the last two weeks to tear aside the usual veil of protestations that Negroes in the South were not qualified to govern. They admitted freely that President Truman's civil rights program stung because it touched the issues of segregation and social equality.

In the Deep South there are no signs as yet of any political threat from Negroes. Most Southerners are convinced that white supremacy at the polls will remain intact for a long time, and in no community is there any evidence of Negroes' winning elective office.

An Urban Factor

True, there are murmurings of Negro political power to come and many wise and able Southern whites are anxious to prepare now a social, political and economic pattern which will stand the impact of Negro balloting strength.

Georgia would appear to be an excellent example of developing Negro political strength in the Deep South. There are reports that more than 200,000 Negroes have already registered there for the election contest this year between Acting Gov. Melvin E. Thompson and Herman Talmadge.

Also, in recent months the Negro vote was unquestionably a principal factor in electing a mayor in Macon and in obtaining the appointment of nine Negro policemen in Savannah. But both of these cities are in counties with large urban populations.

However, in no full sense is the Negro a political power in Georgia. No public office appears to be within his grasp, and many astute political observers are convinced that Mr. Talmadge's white supremacy platform will insure victory at the polls.

The same picture is generally true in South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Texas and North Carolina.

Tennessee and Virginia and the border states of West Virginia, Maryland and Kentucky have recognized Negro voting power for years. Edward H. ("Boss") Crump of Memphis has always counted heavily on the Negro ballots his machine corrals along Beale Street.

In Kentucky there is a Negro member of the Legislature. In Richmond, Va., last year, a Negro Councilman was almost elected. But even with the improved race relations in these states there is no real Negro political power yet on the scene.

However, at this moment, in a Presidential election year, the conflict of national and regional attitudes on segregation policy has given the Negro in the South a political "influence" which for the time being is virtually equal in effect to his numerical strength.

Resentment Stirred

President Truman's ten-point civil rights program struck at the South's traditional Jim Crow policies in transportation, and recent decisions of the Supreme Court have tended to break down the segregation policy in Southern colleges and professional schools.

Southerners largely are infuriated by these developments. Many liberal Southerners will not go along with proposals dealing with anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, FEPC and abolition of segregation in interstate public conveyances.

Hodding Carter, widely known liberal editor in Mississippi, has endorsed Southern reaction to Mr. Truman's program, but he calls for state responsibility as a corollary to state's rights. Dixie demagogues, on the other hand, are already talking of "race intermingling" threats.

Revolt Is Hinted

The present political "influence" of the Negro in the Democratic party will not affect that party's pre-eminence at the polls in the South. On the national scale, however, it can result in a serious Southern revolt against the party leadership if the anti-segregation legislation is pushed strongly.

The ultimate effect of this political development on the nation and the South is difficult to determine at this time, but many Southern observers believe that like most barbs and prods it will in the long run work to the benefit of the Negro's status, provided it does not now go beyond the "threatening" stage.

Jennings Perry

South Wind

FT. MYERS, Fla.

When Democratic Chairman McGrath sits down with the committee from the Southern Governors Conference this morning to discuss the civil rights program proposed by President Truman, he might ask the gentlemen to present their credentials. Undoubtedly the response of the gentlemen would be that they represent the South. In proof they could offer the Associated Press lead dated Saturday, Atlanta:

Perry

"For weeks the South has been boiling about President Truman's civil rights program."

The chairman would make a mental note of the fact that the Atlanta office of the AP, which monitors the agency's Southern coverage, had not considered the establishment of a secret state police in Mississippi worth putting on the wire; he might question the credibility of the "boiling South" statement from this source. It would be nice, it would be pertinent, in any case, if he were to say, "Yes, gentlemen, but who elected you?"—if he were to inquire if it were not true that, for many years, the great majority of the *people* of the South has had no part in any election.

"You, Gov. Laney of Arkansas," he could say, "and you, Gov. Jester of Texas; you, Gov. Tuck of Virginia; you, Gov. Thurmond of South Carolina, is it not true that none of you ever in your life ran in a free election? Is it true that in your states not more than one adult in three ever in his life casts a vote?" He could explain in a pleasant way that his concern was only for the principle of true representation, of majority rule.

Of course he would know all along what the gentlemen from the poll tax states must reply—that they hold office without benefit of any expression of the will of the majority of the people of their states. And in all sincerity he would ask how it is that we are to know, now or ever, what the real South—the masses of the people, not the fraction—think of the matters Mr. Truman has brought up, or indeed of any matters of public importance, whether of local or national reference?

I venture to be wistful that Chairman McGrath may have so much candor this morning, not to embarrass the Southern governors, and the congressmen from their states who may attend them in their visit to the Democratic Headquarters, but because it would be politically healthful for a situation, in which so much pretense has been tolerated, to be exposed. Simple honesty is healthful. It should be said out loud, and understood generally, that the delegation waiting upon Mr. McGrath this morning to protest the civil rights program in the name of "the South" only *presumes* to speak for the Southern people—whose voteless masses never are consulted. It should be made clear that when a great news service reports the South "boiling" it means that these same office-holders, who must admit that they hold no commission from the masses of the people, have been mistaken for the South.

Now, it is possible that both the presumption and the assumption may be near the mark—for instance, that the masses of the people of the South, deprived of the means of political expression by the poll tax and the other devices that abridge the suffrage, actually may resent the proposed legislation to restore free elections. It is hard to believe this to be true. But the point of fact is that, without the restoration of free elections to them, there can be no justification of the claim that the South wills one thing or another, or that any group—governors or congressmen—really speaks for "the South."

Mr. McGrath is entirely at liberty to remind his visitors of these things— and to suggest to them that until the South can vote freely upon the issues that agitate them, their own attempt to declare the will of the South is weighted with a certain gross impertinence.

The South and the Negro

In reply to "Union Forever," I wish to state that every criticism directed at the South is due to the stubbornness of the Southerners. Especially is this true in the case of political leaders and public officials. The South, as a part of the nation, is a paradise, but tradition makes it the most Fascist section in the world. First, it has no two-party system. Second, most public officials are elected on platforms of bygone issues. Third, after being elected, the officials really represent only a handful of voters.

The many spite laws directed at the Negro during the Reconstruction era still are in vogue, and the political leaders, although willing to dictate to other sections of the nation the kind of laws to pass, take particular pains to ignore the minority Negro group. In other words, they simply have been, and are still, abusing the privilege of States' rights. They are living in a modern age but attempting to maintain the conditions of slave treatment for the Negro. The idea seems to be that if they can't keep the Negro humble, the Negro is fit for nothing.

"Union Forever" says that Negroes should not have been given universal suffrage. Negroes slaved for hundreds of years. In a limited way they have taken a part in every epoch in the nation's history. They have spilled blood for the nation. Suffrage was just recompense.

The reason more Negroes are not tax-paying citizens is obvious.

MOSES R. PARKS.

Louisville.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

As Calhoun Lay Dying

Atlanta, Ga.

Sun 4-11-48

When, on March 31, 1850, South Carolina's famed John C. Calhoun lay dying, those in attendance thought they saw an indication he wanted to leave a phrase for posterity, so they gathered close.

"The South! The poor South! God knows what will become of her," they heard him say.

Posterity received it. He had tried to halt the inevitable tides of history and failed.

In 1850 the Democratic Party was strong in every State in the Union. It was an effective force for national unity. Its statesmen had made alliance with the West, which desired a monetary inflation and liked the Southern market. The alliance with the North had begun with the increase in Northern factories in Jefferson's time. North and South complemented each other, much as they do today on an economic basis, the South supplying raw materials to the industries of the North. There being no railroads in the West, that region was dependent on and drawn to and through the South by its use of the Mississippi River and the ports of Natchez and New Orleans for outlet to the sea.

Dominance Despite its much smaller population, through the strategy of the Southern statesmen, the South dominated the national government from 1828 until 1861, save for the two brief periods, the accident of Whig victories in 1840 and 1848.

4-11-48

It may be of more than passing interest that the two "accidents" were victories by military heroes. Gen. William Henry Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe, won a sort of personal triumph in 1840 and in 1848 the Whigs won a Pyrrhic victory with the hero of the Mexican War, Gen. Zachary Taylor. He was a Southerner and had Democratic Party expansionist leanings. After those two accidents the Whigs were dead.

The Constitution

For these 32 years the Democrats, resting on the alliance of the West and the South and the economic treaty with the industrial North, were supreme. Jackson, Van Buren, Polk, Pierce and Buchanan, in one degree or another, harried the Hamiltonian lion into a state of general debility.

Atlanta, Ga

That Democratic Party died in the ruins of the Confederacy.

Neuroses It is well to keep in mind, noting the neuroses of the conquered peoples of World War I and those of World War II, that the South was a conquered nation and that most of its States for five years, and three States for seven years, were occupied by an army of occupation and governed through military governors. It was during those occupation years that all the vulcans from all the hells of prejudice came upon earth and shackled minds, leaving wounds which still are unhealed, and riveted old fears to the historical development of the people of the conquered and occupied region.

The Democratic Party of today, born in that period of chaos, is no more the Democratic Party of 1829 to 1861 than the Old South was a mixture of mocking birds, banjo tunes and continual juleps drunk in the afternoon.

4-11-48

Sugar Tit It is a curious thing how historians touched so lightly on that great and significant period between the Reconstruction and the Populist Movement, which explains so much of the South today. It was in this period that the Democratic Party of the Solid South was born and reared, as the shrewd men in Washington created the "Reconstruction" to expand the war-swollen capitalism of the North. It also is historically true to say that this new-born Democratic Party of the Solid South, emerging from the chaos of the Reconstruction, was fed and brought to maturity on the sugar tit of that capitalist expansion. And, as any rural welfare nurse in the South today will tell you, while a sugar tit satisfies an infant and stops it from crying, it does not build a strong and healthy baby. It is likely to grow up full of neuroses, inhibitions and subject to alternate moments of sweetness and fits all its adult life. The one-party Solid South has, necessarily, remained fearful and nervous.

The Constitution

There are enough parallels today with those of 1856-60 to cause any thoughtful person, North or South, to have nightmares in which hell's abyss yawns and ugly things crawl out of it.

Revolt The present Southern revolt is a revolt largely in defense of something which no longer exists—the status quo. That is shattered forever by the Supreme Court's decision on the white primary. We now are reaping the harvest of three years of furious and unreasoning attempts to deny the Court.

We have centered our anger and our thinking on President Truman's civil rights proposals and blindly go ahead with plans to assure an even greater defeat than seems normally likely—as—Stassen, much more liberal than Truman, sweeps Wisconsin.

We cannot escape history.

Atlanta, Ga

We cannot go on always in the South being against something.

One of these days we must affirm something.

Right now we could affirm equal opportunity and equal rights within the pattern of segregation. We could assist the courts in that respect.

Sun. 4-11-48

But we cannot change 1948 to 1860 without attaining the same results.

Northerners Rule On The South

John Temple Graves

"Thou are a Lombard, my brother?
Happy art thou,' she cried,
And smiled like Italy on him.
He dreamed in her face and died."

Pray for the dreaming, the sunlight and smiles, as history's peninsula opens another chapter of world fate. Democracy has many disadvantages against totalitarianism but it has, at least, better experience with public opinion. We used that experience ably in Italy against Russia with no holds barred. The spectacle of an America able to concentrate as we did on the Italian crisis, to be clever about it, foresighted, determined, and greatly in agreement, makes pleasant antidote to the other spectacle of an America as deceived about itself as we seemed to be a Bogota last week and as shockingly divided in military council as the Symington-Forrestal disagreement makes us out. It helps against the picture John Lewis makes with his perfect willingness to tear our economy down in the sight of the enemy, and the one his miners make as they stay away from work to tell the sovereign people of the United States they must interpret their laws in Lewis' favor or be attacked again.

Columbia, S.C.

And it does something to offset the presumption of election year impotence on which Russia is counting in 1948 as Germany did in 1940.

We need to face the truth, though, that in general we are as crippled by our present political state as Russia expects us to be. Not only is this an election year, not only is there a President who has one political philosophy and a Congress with another, but there is the full-grown lack of confidence in President Truman by so large a part of his own party. With perhaps the most vital turns and decisions of history immediately ahead, our whole leadership is divided, confused and second-rate.

Wed. 4-21-48

How terribly we need a hand, a voice, a point of view. Perhaps there is hope in the phenomenon of Stassen, the internationalist, the man who wants to face our responsibility abroad in the Vandenberg one time isolationist areas like Wisconsin and Nebraska.

The revolt in the South, which has resulted from the insane insistence of reformers on their reforms and politicians on their doubtful-state minorities in defiance of the northerner's need of national unity, has no standing insofar as it endangers the nation in this world situation. But it has perfect standing insofar as it endangers only a Harry Truman and a national Democratic administration already in disrepute and en route to defeat. And that is all it does. It makes the more vivid the lack of confidence in the administration and accentuates the need of some sort of coalition government or process in the fateful next nine months before a new president is inaugurated.

Columbia, S.C.

Wed 4-21-48

Those who would have it that the Southern outbreak is all Bilbo-ism, bigotry and bile should consider enlightened estimate in The Manchester, (England), Guardian, most famous liberal periodical in the world. Many people in the South, it points out, abhor race hate and witch hunts as sincerely as any of the members of committee on civil rights," but "President Truman's idealism . . . was tragically vitiated by the way he proclaimed it. He threw an ultimatum at the South. . . . It was fatal to his purpose that he disheartened the Southern liberals and many leaders in Southern community life through whom alone he could learn the best ways of respecting Southern sensitiveness and yet crystalizing into local law the progressive changes . . ."

"The President's committee," The Manchester Guardian continued 'was composed mostly of Northern-ers. Once again a regional problem of the South was attacked as if it were a direct consequence of Southern human nature. And once again the best and the worst of the South forget differences and flinch together from the common hurt of the President branding from . . .

The Constitution

Columbia, S.C.

Wed 4-21-48

I hope this will be read by B. R. Searcy of Macon, Ga., who has called me all sorts of a liar for saying there is "little or no race hate in Mississippi." There is no hate in this revolt in the South, only resistance to outside force on the South's vital and peculiar problem. There is no race hate in Mississippi between white people and colored who in equal numbers are its citizens. There is only hate of outsiders who try to force a change in the social pattern, and of occasional local leaders who join them. The white and colored people of Mississippi and other Southern states don't hate each other, whatever their sins, as whites and blacks do now in Portland, Oregon, in Detroit, in Chicago, and many another place there is law for the Negro but no affection.

Southern Politicians Are Hurting The South

It is now clear that shortsighted Southern politicians in the National Congress, backed by the poll-tax system, vested interests and false fears, are hurting the South.

Their stubborn opposition to President Truman's civil rights program, a demonstrated need for the best interest of the South, is standing in the way of Federal-aid to Education, repeal of the oleomargarine tax and the national security legislation. This Southern opposition is paving the way for the defeat of the Democratic Party at the polls next November. Daily World

Southern democrats may postpone the day of enactment of measures designed to improve the machinery of democracy and bolster the American heritage, but it is hardly that they shall succeed for long holding them off.

One day the voters will wake up in America. They will catch on to the slick trick by Northern Republicans in using the civil rights issues to defeat measures in the interest of the South particularly and the Nation generally. The same goes for the Southern Democrats who oppose all changes that seek to bring the American practice in line with the American promise. Atlanta, Ga.

Failures of the 80th Congress to pass the civil rights measures and to defeat the Mundt Bill might well spell the doom of the two-party system in this country. For it will appear obvious that the two old parties are useless in America today. For they will have failed in the hour of democracy's test. Fri. - 5 - 28 - 48

Time is running out on the 80th Congress. Southern politicians are in "revolt" which is no more than a revamping of reactionary machinery. Southern politicians are hurting the south in Congress and are damaging the prestige of the United State of America in their fight for human rights and civil freedoms.

Marquis Childs

The South in the Senate

WASHINGTON—After Nov. 2 a lot of brave talk was heard about how the Dixiecrats and other turncoats would be read out of a purified Democratic Party. That talk has gone with the wind. The prescription as of now is: More of the same.

To many in the South this is not an academic question. On the contrary it can mean political life or death. Detroit Free Press

Alabama is a good example of how the issue of the Dixiecrats cuts across political fortunes. The Dixiecrat organization in Alabama was bossed by wealthy corporation lawyers with important connections in the North.

These and the interests they represent are bitter enemies of Alabama's Senator Lister Hill because of the liberal line that Hill takes.

One of the chief Dixiecrats, James Simpson, a corporation lawyer, nearly defeated Hill four years ago. The same crowd is already planning to gang up on him two years from now.

The irony is, of course, that Hill was so awed by Dixiecrat strength that he came out in opposition to President Truman before the convention. So did his colleague, Senator John Sparkman, who was up for re-election.

National officials of the Democratic Party profess to be afraid of the repercussions if they should intervene in state organizations in the South. Such intervention, it is believed, would be deeply resented. The reform, the argument goes, must originate locally.

* * *

IN WASHINGTON "more of the same" means that the Dixiecrats will hold their seniority on Congressional committees.

Appropriations, Foreign Relations, District of Columbia, Finance and Expenditures in Executive Departments will all have chairmen from the South. In addition, Senator Burnet R. Maybank of South Carolina will almost certainly be acting chairman of Banking and Currency, since Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York will, because of invalidism, be unable to take his seat. Sat-12-11-48

Also the chairmanship on Agriculture will go to Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma and Senator Millard Tydings of Maryland will take over the Armed Services Committee. These are border states with a strong Southern infusion.

This is, of course, an unreal and abnormal disproportion. From the point of view of population, the unbalance is even greater. On the seniority basis, not a single Senate chairmanship will go to the great population centers in the Northwest and Middle West.

More than half of the prizes go to the sparsely populated South and border, with the West Coast and its great new population growth entirely left out. In the House the unbalance is not nearly so great.

The consequence of seniority in the Senate is that six committee chairmanships go to men 70 or older. The veteran is Senator Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee who takes over appropriations. McKellar has already begun to fulminate in the press about what he means to do when he has the reins of power.

Next month McKellar will be 80 years old. Sat-12-11-48

* * *

WHEN YOU PUT this business of seniority up to high-ranking Democrats they back away nervously. How else, they want to know, would you cut up the cake if not on the rule of seniority? They conjure a frightening picture of Southern Democrats revolting in committee, practicing every kind of sabotage short of blowing up the Capitol itself.

So the show that goes on in January will have striking similarities to performances from the recent past. From the veteran actors who will move on to the stage nothing very new can be expected.

Many newcomers, who found themselves elected Nov. 2 will not like this. But whether they can do anything about it is something else again. The seniority rule seems to have been written on tablets of stone about the time of Moses. Its weight has crushed many an eager, crusading spirit.

Down On Beale Avenue

BY NAT D. WILLIAMS

MEMPHIS, Tenn. — (SNS) — Isn't it strange how princes and kings
And clowns that caper in sawdust rings,
And common folk like you and me,
All work alike toward Eternity?
Old Stanza

RUN, JOE!

I don't know the first thing about politics. I'm in the same boat with a gang of guys who think they're smart politicians. Just like them, most of my political guesses and predictions are as wrong as sin. Then when I find out I've made a mistake, I run off and hide for a day or so and then come out braying "I told you so"....Just like the rest of the wise guys.

Now, right here and now, I'm fixing to make a flock of mistakes. I'm fixing to say something about politics. And I know I shouldn't. It's just like a fellow's eating up his ma's last pie, when he's the only one in the house. He knows she'll know he did it. And, he'll know what she will do about it. But, he takes the one chance in a thousand that she won't notice a thing. So, here I go....with the refrain of the latest hit tune on Beale Street's juke box running thru my mind.... the tune that advises a guy named Joe to run, inasmuch as he has been caught out on a limb about something he had no business messing with. So, my name is "Joe" for the rest of this splurge.

* * * *

AM DIDN'T DO IT

In the outset, I'd like to give ff a few spurts concerning the re-ent elections as staged here in lemphis and elsewhere in Tennes-ee. I was out of town when they ame off....but I voted.... in ab-entia. Yeah, I was counted. Mo.... o, shut your lying mouth! I voted what I thought was right,..... ...in them Tennessee Democratic primaries.... yes sir!

Now, concerning the election.. it disturbed me when the word was bandied around my vicinity that the Negro vote of Memphis was largely responsible for the unusual happenings which occurred. I couldn't understand it. Some guys showed me a report on what the colored citizenry did about the primary in the 14th Ward, 1st precinct....which went all out for what might be called an opposition or protest vote. Writers and commentators all over the country took this occurrence as an example of the revolt of the Negro vote against its former long-time allegiances. The "heavy-timber Negro press" of the nation reported that something of a revolution had occurred in Memphis among the Negro electorate. I was outdone. I commenced thinking that a reaf of my close personal friends have and had been long interested and active in what was done by the Negro vote in Memphis and I commenced wondering what had happened to their leadership. So, when I got home, I asked some questions. I wanted the "facts." One of them handed me a break-down, as printed in the local white press of what had happened in the Negro wards.

The "Break-down" showed something entirely different from what was being said. It showed that the local Negro political leadership had "come thru"..... that the Negro electorate of Memphis....at least those who are still active had done nothing to distrub the status quo .... that the Negroes of Memphis like Negroes throughout the South, vote with the white leadership of the South.... that there is no difference between what died-in-the-wool white Southereners vote and died-in-the-wool Negro Southernrictions as white folk. Most Negroes like and do what the "Man" says do, just like most white folk like and do what the "Man' says do. As a matter of fact, most Negroes come much more nearly doing what the "Man" says do than the white folk do. The following figures, as reported concerning the last Democratic primary balloting involving the Browning, Keafauver, Mitchell-Stewart ticket, as voted in the city of Memphis in the heaviest Negro wards and precincts shows something as follow: (And I'm reporting only the most heavily populated Negro Wards and precincts.):

WARD	BROWNING	McCORD
5-1	32	141
5-2	46	127
6-1	88	322
7-1	39	92
7-2	68	95
8-1	82	241
8-2	125	241
9-1	191	331
9-2	167	285
11-1	84	116
11-2	68	98
14-1	85	77
21-1	201	456
21-2	281	469
21-3	125	384
22	195	253
23-1	69	205
25-1	162	224
25-2	239	263
26-1	183	230
26-2	250	377
29-1	370	590
29-2	106	331
35-2	36	179
26-1	182	230
37	100	181
39-1	225	78
39-2	60	160
40-1	94	125
40-2	81	347
42	326	438
43	350	397
51	211	644
52	359	907
Kefauver	Mitchell	Stewart
36	132	7
51	118	3
100	189	16
48	71	8
75	81	2
99	219	8
135	212	11
223	280	2
197	244	3
84	105	7
61	90	3
85	67	2
268	369	21
344	383	21
164	307	16
202	230	11
89	190	6
179	193	4
276	210	9
201	189	9
298	299	24
428	435	41
124	273	7
114	151	10
296	482	66
103	175	3
25	28	3
56	157	2
82	126	3
193	231	9
370	376	12
438	295	14
293	536	23
530	692	36

SO YOU SEE!

The Negroes of Memphis are either still "political illiterates'.... or they are "lamp-black' white folk who vote their conviction according to the way they see this color situation. In short, Memphis Negroes don't seem to be so much concerned about the importance.... or should I say, significance of the current political situation. There's political revolution occurring in America, from the way I see it. Memphis Negroes reflect it in the number of local political divisions they have here....there is a Truman group.... a Dewey group and a Wallace group.... I wouldn't be surprised to hear a Dixie-crat group of Negroes announced here....now whachubet!

ANALYSIS SHOWS TEXAS NEGROES GAINING POLITICAL STRENGTH

By Staff

DALLAS — (ANP) — Texas Negroes are effectively winning prominent recognition in politics today and contrary to past alleged practices, they are paying for their political freedom from their own pockets.

No longer can the candidate assume that one Negro or a group of Negroes can deliver to him a bloc of votes for a stipulated sum. Organized, intelligent, self-respecting Negro voters first determine the candidate's fitness for the office to which he aspires. This determination is not reached by cash payments, "hand outs" or that proverbial pat on the back meted out to the "good Negro" but fact-finding committees first obligate themselves to ferret out the background of the prospective office-holder to the extent of almost knowing just what he liked for dinner at the age of seven and whether or not he was a little boy who liked to tie tin cans to a mongrel's tail.

When the candidate has passed the acid test, these voters go to the polls and elect him—never once asking that he wear a special label—their one demand is that he be a man of the people and for the people who will exhaust his energies and all of his influence to see that all people get their rightful share in a Democratic government. Negroes believe that they too will profit by the candidate's election because they believe themselves to be a part of the people.

Dallas

Here in Dallas, three precincts look to Negroes as their undisputed leaders. Precinct 45, once presided over by the Rev. Stacy Adams who deserted the party to cast his lot with Henry Wallace, is now looking to M. M. McGaughey for its political answers. Mr. McGaughey is state supervisor for the Golden State Life Insurance company and a community leader; Dr. E. H. Browne, prominent dentist, takes time out from his countless professional and social activities to give leadership to the voters of Precinct 24 while N. C. Chalmers, president of the Dallas Progressive Voters league, schooled in Chicago politics, is head of Precinct 6, the largest precinct in all North Dallas. At no time has either man made the mistake of misusing his office or failed to hold his place among the voters of Dallas.

Election Judges

If Negro precinct committeemen were a "first" in the election to

Texas

years and the Dallas organization, headed by the Rev. M. H. Jackson, now pastor of Friendship Baptist church, Atlanta, and president of the National Progressive Voters league, has branched out into 40 leagues strategically located in the state of Texas. They have merited and won the respect in political circles envied by lesser groups, but at no time has an indictment been made that they could be bought and paid for prior to or after an election. They raised funds among themselves and elected the candidates of their choice, believing those candidates the best men for the jobs or the lesser of the existing evils. To Charles T. Brackins, now deceased, could the laurels be given for wielding such a mighty influence along this line.

The 17-year-old organization has harvested benefits for its followers and maintained respect of its contemporaries without demanding it. On April 27 and 28 the State Progressive Voters league will asembly in Port Arthur for its annual convention. Dr. J. B. Matthews, the state's first vice president, L. M. Moody, president of the Port Authur league. Manuel Dibbles, and J. C. Ford will be the nucleus around which the convention will make additional history.

hold places of prominence in the county convention two years ago. that achievement has been topped in 1948. For the first time Negro women sat in Precinct 6 as judges during the school board election several weeks ago. Those judges followed the legal procedures and white and Negro voters filed before them and gave them the difference due them, none questioned their being there or offered a ripple. All went well. Those judges were Mesdames C. L. Gilbert, Eva McMillan and E. V. Wilkins, all of them civic-minded, cultured housewives. A. C. Partee, executive of the Dallas Progressive Voters league and the league's president, N. C. Chalmers, loked in at all of the precincts.

San Antonio

Down in San Antonio, where Negroes have always had an entre into politics due to the lamented, deceased Ballinger's having taught them the evaluation of the votes and its power, another "first" was reached. G. J. Sutton, mortician, has been elected to a place on the school board (junior college level) and significantly important is the fact that no bloc of Negro voters could have elected him as they comprise a negligible quota of the Alamo City's population.

San Antonio is a mecca of 19 different nationalities and whites and Mexicans predominate, hence Mr. Sutton represented the wishes of the people of San Antonio when he was elected. He modestly quoted: "I ran, the people elected me." The man who was given a chair on a most important board represents the cultural, intellectual thinking of San Antonio's voters—the race has advanced by this step as a new day dawns for the citizens of tomorrow.

Over 10 years ago the Progressive Voters league was organized with the goal set as political freedom for Negroes but that freedom should not be bought at the price of their self-respect. This philosophy has prevailed through the

ALABAMA VOTE

FOR TRUMAN

ASKED IN SUIT

Mobile, Ala.-(AP)

For Truman Asked in Suit

MOBILE, Ala.—(AP)—State Sen. Joseph N. Langan has filed suit in circuit court seeking to force Presidential Elector Gessner T. McCorvey to vote for President Truman.

Gov. James E. Folsom had asked a Federal court order at Montgomery Friday restraining McCorvey and Alabama's 10 other Democratic electors from voting for anyone but Truman.

Langan's suit asked the court to require McCorvey to show cause why he should not vote for the successful Democratic candidate for President.

If McCorvey fails to do so, Langan asked the court to order him to cast his electoral college vote for Truman, or be punished for contempt.

McCorvey is Chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee. Langan was an Alabama Truman leader during the presidential campaign.

Langan set out in a volumnious petition that "law, custom and usage" require McCorvey to vote for the National Democratic Party nominee.

The 11 electors are pledged to vote for the Thurmond-Wright States' Rights Democratic ticket. There were no electors pledged to Truman on the ballot.

The suit sets out that when Langan was asked for advice on how to vote for Truman in Alabama, he told the Party members to vote the straight Democratic ticket.

Electors Meet Today To Vote

Alabama's 11 presidential electors will meet in Secretary of State Sibyl Pool's office at noon today to cast their ballots for president of the United States.

An in spite of a series of court suits to compel them to vote for Democratic Party candidate Harry S. Truman, the electors have continued to stand by their pledge to cast their ballots for States' Rights Candidate J. Strom Thurmond.

The electors will meet in the secretary of state's office, organize, cast their ballots and prepare a certificate of the result.

Along with a certification by Governor Folsom that the electors were duly elected in Alabama, the vote will then be transmitted to Washington, where it will be counted when Congress meets again.

The 11 electors are Robert B. Albritton, Tom Abernethy, Edmund Blair, Ben Bloodworth, Rep. Walter C. Givhan, Tully A. Goodwin, Rep. Norman W. Harris, John A. Lusk, Jr., Gessner T. McCorvey, Walter F. Miller and Horace C. Wilkinson.

The electors will vote for a vice-president at the same time.

Folsom, Aides Accused Of Conspiring To Divert Suit Funds To Own Use

Decatur Court Told Solicitations To Push Fight On State Electors Are Part Of 'Corrupt Conspiracy'

DECATUR, ALA., Nov. 19—(AP)—Gov. James E. Folsom and several of his political followers were accused today of soliciting funds for their own use under the pretense of raising money to finance the governor's court fight over Alabama's electoral votes.

The charge was made in circuit court during a hearing of a suit against two of the 11 electors who have promised to vote for Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, instead of President Truman.

Attorneys for Electors Norman Harris and Ben Bloodworth made the accusation in a written motion asking Circuit Judge Newton B. Powell to dismiss the suit.

"The petition in this cause was not filed in good faith," the dismissal motion said, "but was filed pursuant to and as a part of a fraudulent and corrupt conspiracy."

The purpose of "said conspiracy," it continued, was to "raise a large sum of money and to divide it among said conspirators."

Other Individuals "Unknown"

Mentioned along with the governor were Attorneys Kenneth Griffith, Cullman; Jack and Files Crenshaw, Montgomery; James J. Mayfield, Tuscaloosa; State Senators Joseph N. Langan, Mobile; Broughton Lamberth, Alexander City, and A. L. Patterson, Phenix City; State Rep. Ira Thompson, Luverne, Folsom's legal adviser, and Adjutant General James S. Saliba.

In addition, the motion said, there are "various and sundry other individuals whose names are to the defendants unknown."

The electors also charged in the motion that "said co-conspirators and other members of said conspiracy have been soliciting donations from liquor licensees, beer dealers, contractors and others who do business with the state . . . and who desire to curry favor with the Folsom administration.

Funds are being sought, too, from state employes, the motion added.

Charge Stays On Record

Pro-Folsom attorneys who filed the suit against the electors asked Judge Powell to strike the charges from the record, but he refused. If they can be proven, he said, they will be grounds for dismissal of the entire suit.

The judge ordered the allegations heard on their merits, and continued the case until 10 a.m. Saturday. Counsel for the plaintiff asked for time to gather evidence to answer the charges.

Griffith, one of those mentioned in the defense accusations, told the court he knew nothing of any conspiracy and that he doesn't expect to make any profit out of the case, even legal fees.

A colleague, H. A. Endrekin of Cullman, declared angrily that "If these allegations were true I would strike my name from this petition and recommend that everyone mentioned in this motion be sent to the penitentiary where they ought to be."

Renew Jurisdictional Argument

The electors also contended the suit involves a political issue "of which the court has no jurisdiction." The same argument was made in Federal Court at Montgomery Wednesday before Judge C. B. Kennamer denied an injunction asked by the governor to keep the electors from supporting Gov. Thurmond.

A similar injunction was turned down yesterday in state court at Birmingham. Notice of appeal to the State Supreme Court was filed today in the Birmingham case.

Actually, Folsom is not a party to the suit here. It was filed by D. T. Kinney, chairman of the Cullman County Democratic Executive Committee, and E. L. Drinkard, State Democratic Committeeman and father of State Finance Director Bill Drinkard.

Nevertheless, the suit is part of the governor's campaign to get Alabama's 11 electoral votes counted for President Truman. It and several others were filed in state courts along with the action in Federal Court.

Will Bring "Revolution"

Arguing in behalf of the suit today, Attorney Endrekin told Judge Powell:

"It will bring about a revolution in our form of government if the courts hold that presidential electors are free agents with authority to vote for anyone they choose."

The electors claim they have that right, and the Alabama Supreme court in an advisory opinion agreed with them.

Impeach Folsom Rumor Follows Secret Meeting

Legislators Reportedly Talk Grounds

BY HUGH W. SPARROW
News Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Nov. 20—Possible impeachment of Gov. Folsom reportedly was debated during an executive session of a joint legislative committee the past week, and grounds and procedure was openly gossiped in hotel lobbies.

Fourteen of the 15 members of the joint committee on accountancy—the committee to which the Department of Examiners is answerable—held an executive session Tuesday at the close of the committee's annual meeting.

Members remained behind closed

Charges In Open

WHILE THE GOVERNOR'S ACTION in bringing suit against the Democratic electors may have been responsible for some of the recent impeachment talk, that talk apparently was voiced by many others.

Several legislators were openly urging the governor's impeachment and apparently did not mind who knew how they felt about it.

A hint of possible impeachment proceedings also cropped up during Wednesday's hearing in the United States District Court on the governor's attempt to prevent Dixiecrat electors from supporting the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

Again the rumble of impeachment sentiment was heard at Decatur Friday during the hearing of Folsom's suit against Norman Harris and Ben Bloodworth, electors.

FUND COLLECTION, SAY SOME OF THE ELECTORS AND LEGISLATORS, appears to be a

tors here the past week that a governor may be a number of grounds, m malfeasance and mis-

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Legislators he
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major tactic of the governor and his followers.

They recall that Folsom gathered in thousands by using the "suds bucket" when he ran for governor. Also that he used the same device during the Self-Starter Amendment campaign and attempted to revive it when he ran for national convention delegate.

During the Self-Starter Amendment campaign and the contest in which the governor sought to elect himself convention delegate and Phillip J. Hamm as United States senator, Folsom campaigners reportedly applied heavy pressure for collections.

* * *

Checks Photographed

PHOTOSTATIC COPIES OF CHECKS from beer dealers, licensees, etc., have been bandied about the state in recent months.

One of the photostatic copies in circulation represents a check $500 made out by a Mobile beer retailer to a man who now holds an influential position in the Folsom inner circle.

The check, incidentally, was not made payable to the Folsom campaign fund, or to the treasurer of such fund, but to the solicitor himself.

Contributions Listed

ABOUT TWO MONTHS AFTER the May 1 primary, in which Folsom, Hamm and Sen. Broughton Lamberth were defeated, this column published the lists officially certified to the secretary of state as contributors to the Hamm and Sparkman campaign.

Several listed as contributors to the Hamm fund told this reporter they were credited for only a fraction of the amount they subscribed. Naturally they wondered why.

* * *

New Fund Announced

A FEW DAYS AFTER the Nov. 2 election Adj. Gen. James S. Saliba called a press conference. During that conference he announced a statewide campaign fund contribution would be solicited.

Gen. Saliba identified himself as chairman and J. B. Burkhalter and George Wilkinson, the latter of Mobile, as co-chairmen of the finance committee. The general said the campaign fund would be sought to pay costs of the suits filed by the governor against electors.

At a press conference following that announcement Gov. Folsom gave his fullest approval to the campaign fund solicitation. He declared that the money would be used to defray court costs. Any left he said, would be donated to the Democratic National Committee to help pay the party's recent campaign debts.

Nov. 3, $1,083.45 cost of repairing kitchen floor at mansion.

Nov. 4, $136.40 to Gov. Folsom covering cost of incidental entertainment at mansion.

Nov. 5, $250 to K. G. Griffith, expenses of trip to Mobile in connection with Boswell amendment case.

Nov. 10, $1,000 to Griffith, advance on legal fee in connection with Boswell amendment case.

Nov. 5, $25 to Mrs. Grace Jones, reimbursement for expenses in connection with mansion reception.

Nov. 5, $150 to A. A. Carmichael, attorney-general, covering travel expenses.

Nov. 10, $965.94 to Gov. Folsom, covering cost of mansion upkeep during October.

Nov. 12, $129.60 to Folsome, incidental entertainment.

Nov. 12, $200 to Folsom, expenses of trip from Montgomery to Mobile and to Atlanta.

Nov. 12, $82.62 to Folsom, mansion entertainment.

Nov. 10, $450 advance to Comptroller Graves on expenses of trip to a convention.

In addition the governor expended $319 during the past six weeks from a previous year contingent fund encumbrance. Of that amount the governor and his wife received $250, reimbursement for incidental entertainment at the mansion.

* * *

Gets Advance Fee

E. C. (BUD) BOSWELL, associated with Kenneth Griffith in defending the Boswell amendment, which he sponsored in 1945, received $1,000 a few days ago from the emergency fund, as an advance on his fee.

Boswell also is on the temporary clerk fund payroll as an administrative assistant at $450 a month.

* * *

The Harrington Visit

A LITTLE MORE ON THE HARRINGTON VISIT — Sources here say that Stephen H. Harrington, the St. Paul, Minn., advertising man who recently hailed Folsom as "top man" in Alabama Democratic Party ranks and was disclaimed by a National Committee spokesman, did not pop-call on the governor.

Pitt Tyson Maner traveled in a National Guard plane to St. Paul to escort Harrington to Alabama. The latter visited in the mansion. The governor and Maner took him to Mobile reportedly to view the State Docks. They also took him to Atlanta to see the Alabama-Tech game.

In Atlanta they were said to have been joined by Bill Haigler, Montgomery road contractor.

* * *

Odds And Ends

HERE AND THERE—Rep. Willis McIlwain, Bullock, sponsor of the independent examiners of accounts bill in 1947, is going to back at least two bills in 1949.

One, a constitutional amendment, would abolish the office of state auditor, which McIlwain believes is obsolete. Also he will offer a bill fixing the next governor's pay (the present governor cannot receive a salary increase during his tenure in office) to $15,000. Further, he proposes to reduce the amount and establish ample safeguards around the contingent fund.

Speaker Bill Beck is planning to offer a bill abolishing the State Planning Board. That is, he says, unless the board demonstrates some real accomplishments soon.

The Department of Aeronautics, which seemingly has been in about the same fix as the Planning Board, reportedly may get the ax from the 1949 Legislature.

Democratic Elector Tom Abernethy, Talladega, proposes to summon Gov. Folsom as a witness when Folsom's suit against him is tried at Talladega. And he has invited Horace Wilkinson, author of the much discussed "telegram to Folsom," to cross-examine the governor.

* * *

Spending Speeded

THE CURRENT RESTLESSNESS and impeachment talk has in part, this background:

On Nov. 15—just a month and a half after the 1948-49 fiscal year started—half the $100,000 emergency fund was gone. Almost half the $25,000-a-year contingent fund had been exhausted, and spending from the temporary clerk hire fund was going on at double last year's rate.

Though the 1947 Legislature limited expenditures for temporary clerks to $3,500 in the general appropriation bill, and passed a special bill limiting expenditures to that total, the governor pocket vetoed the special bill. (It happened to have passed during the last five days of the session.) He ignored the fact that the general appropriation act limited spending for temporary clerks to $3,500 a year. He took the position that there was no limitation, as to just how much he could spend.

During the 1947-48 fiscal year, which ended Sept. 30, 1948, the governor had expended about $120,000 in pay to his temporary clerk fund beneficiaries. Also he had okehed expense accounts for some of them which brought total expenditures to more than $150,000.

On Oct. 15, 1948, the temporary clerk payroll for the half month was $6,784.14, or approximately double the payroll for the last half of September. On Oct. 31 the total was $6,690, and on Nov. 15 it reached $6,966.35.

* * *

Funds Transferred

GOV. FOLSOM HAD EXPENDED, or at least transferred to other departments for spending, $49,032 of the $100,000 emergency fund.

This is how the money went:

Transferred to the governor's office, $500; to the Department of Conservation, $3,000; to the governor's office, $1,000 (to be paid as part payment on a fee to one of the lawyers opposing action in Federal Court against the Boswell amendment); to the attorney general's office, $1,750; Department of Archives and History, $275; legal division, Department of Finance, $282.10 (to defray cost of an expense account); attorney general's department, $3,600; Department of Industrial Relations, $5,700; Supreme Court, $2,940; treasurer's office, $1,945; Archives and History, $3,200; auditor's office, $1,000; Finance Department, $440; Finance Department (governor's division), $10,000; finance department (comptroller's office), $3,375; governor's office, $9,119.92, and office of Veterans Affairs, $1,000.

* * *

Entertainment Costs

GOV. FOLSOM'S CONTINGENT FUND spending from Oct. 1 to Nov. 15 was $9,795.67 of the $25,000 appropriation.

The money was expended as follows:

Oct. 1, $100 to Gov. Folsom, reimbursement for expenses attending the Auburn homecoming game.

Oct. 6, $120 to O. H. Finney, Jr., the governor's executive secretary, to reimburse him for cost of incidental entertainment at the executive mansion.

Oct. 7, $100 to W. L. Horn, draft director, to reimburse him for expenses incurred in entertaining Washington officials.

Nov. 13, $1,062.39 to Gov. Folsom, reimbursal for maintenance of the executive mansion during September.

Oct. 15, $50 to C. B. Hartman, covering cost of repairing mansion clock.

Oct. 15, $50 to defray cost of Folsom's trip to Mobile.

Oct. 15, $207.50, monthly pay of governor's chauffeur.

Oct. 18, $157.50, cost of railroad tickets for the governor and Mrs. Folsom from Montgomery to Miami to attend the Legion convention.

Oct. 21, $60, advance expenses for Miss Duane Dickinson, clerk of the special committee investigating prisons and eleemosynary institutions.

Oct. 21, $12.18 to the Stiles Hotel Company, "covering invoice dated Sept. 28." (The invoice was not attached.)

Oct. 22, $120 to Sen. Broughton Lamberth, reimbursement for expenses of the senator in attending the Miami Legion convention.

Oct. 25, $600 to Gov. Folsom, to "defray expenses of the governor's special trip to Washington Oct. 24." (One-day trip. Itemized bill not attached.)

Oct. 28, $63.56 to Finney, reimbursement for incidental entertainment at mansion.

Oct. 28, $64.17, to Folsom, reimbursement for entertainment at mansion.

Oct. 29, $234.40, to Folsom, reimbursement for entertainment for Alabama delegation to Miami Legion convention.

Nov. 1, $12.50, traveling expenses of governor's chauffeur.

Nov. 2, $40.14 to defray expenses of trip of Col. Ira B. Thompson, the governor's legal adviser, on trip to Washington with official state party in interest of the Democratic Party.

Nov. 3, $40 to Folsom to defray traveling expenses. (Letter ordering comptroller to draw warrant didn't identify the trip.)

the sales manager's part in our economy, and Harold J. Cummings, of Minnesota Mutual Life Insurance, on "Organized Selling in Life Insurance."

* * *

'The New South'

DURING THE NOON LUNCHEON, Dr. J. L. Brakefield, manager of the industrial department, Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, told the sales executives and salesmen from over 20 states about "The New South."

He stressed the opportunities in the South for industrial development and invited the business leaders to "look South" for potential locations of their factories and sales outlets.

The sales conference, which attracted more than 600 and turned down 300 others for lack of space was sponsored here by the Birmingham Sales Executives Club.

R. S. Bohannon is club president. Dan R. Hudson was general chairman of the conference.

Court Refuses To Enjoin Pro-Thurmond Electors; Says It Lacks Jurisdiction

The Montgomery Advertiser
Thurs 11-18-48

Federal Judge, However, Still To Rule On 3 Pleas In Folsom's Suit To Force Electoral College Votes For Truman

Montgomery Ala

Federal Judge C. B. Kennamer yesterday denied a plea for a temporary injunction to keep Alabama's 11 presidential electors from voting for anyone but President Truman.

After four hours of arguments, the judge announced his ruling with this brief statement:

"I am of the opinion that this court is wholly without jurisdiction."

The decision on the temporary injunction did not throw out the entire suit filed by Governor Folsom to compel the state's electors to vote for Truman. The electors are pledged to vote for States' Rights candidates in the electoral college.

Although Judge Kennamer would make no comment, attorneys on both sides agreed that since he had held he had no jurisdiction over the case and thus could not issue a temporary injunction, he probably would rule also that he has no jurisdiction to grant three other pleas in Folsom's suit.

The judge, with the consent of attorneys from both sides, continued until Nov. 30 the hearing of arguments on the three other pleas of the governor.

They are: 1—To issue a permanent injunction to keep the electors from voting for any candidate except Truman; 2—A mandatory writ of injunction commanding the electors to vote for Truman, and, 3—A declaratory judgment outlining the duties and rights of Folsom and the 11 electors.

Rules Abruptly

On one occasion during the hearing Judge Kennamer commented that he couldn't see what difference the suit makes now, because which ever way it is decided it will not have any effect on who becomes president next January.

The decision came abruptly after Attorney Jack Crenshaw completed his arguments for Folsom's plea.

The judge advised both parties that he did not think rebuttal would be necessary or have any effect because "I am of the opinion that this court is wholly without jurisdiction in the matter as set out in the bill of complaint, and relief as requested is denied."

When there was a heated declaration by Crenshaw that the electors were violating their pledge to support the nominee of the National Democratic Party and that Governor Folsom had kept that pledge, Judge Kennamer stated that the chief executive could have sought legal action prior to the election to get Truman's name on the ballot in Alabama.

Crenshaw replied that the electors could have resigned from the state Democratic Party and run on the States' Rights ticket since they were "not sensitive about breaking their pledges."

Judge Kennamer retorted: "I am not prepared to comment on whether the governor has been sensitive about violating a pledge."

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No Way To Tell

Frequently during the arguments presented by Crenshaw, the judge interrupted him to say that the people of the state had been "put on notice" as to how the electors were going to vote and that Folsom had had ample opportunity to go into court for relief from the situation.

He declared that so far as he knew there was no way to tell actually how the people of Alabama voted on Nov. 2, whether for States Righter Thurmond or for Truman.

Going further, Judge Kennamer said he was interested only in the judicial aspects of the case and not in the political questions. "Nor do I have any idea of trying to ascertain how the people voted," he added.

Attorneys for the electors contended in their arguments that the local Federal Court had no jurisdiction and therefore suit should be dismissed.

Early in the proceedings a lawyer for the electors charged that Folsom was trying to "double-cross" the voters of Alabama.

And Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham, one of the 11 electors, accused the governor of "deliberately" trying "to mislead and deceive the voters of Alabama."

Wilkinson, who recently called Folsom a "disgrace" and told him he should resign as governor and leave Alabama, declared that the chief executive's bill of complaint was not true and was an "affront to the court."

Tracing the history of why the 11 electors pledged themselves not to vote for Truman, Wilkinson said that in the very beginning Folsom had been sympathetic to the movement and had tried to go along with it.

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He introduced newspaper stories and advertisements to show that the governor had supported some of the electors who pledged not to vote for Truman and who are now defendants in the suit brought by Folsom.

Asserting that Folsom had stated he would go along with the States' Rights movement but had been rejected by that group because he would have been a "liability," the elector said:

"How he's got the audacity, the nerve, the unmitigated gall to come into this court is more than I can understand."

Wilkinson said the electors had only one duty, and that was to meet here on Dec. 13 and vote.

"What this (bill of complaint) seeks to do is take away that right and make of the electors a rubber stamp," he claimed.

Crenshaw declared that the suit was "the most important case in the state—maybe in the United States—in 100 years."

He said it was to determine whether the electors have the right to vote for whom they please or whether the people of the United States elect the president.

Written state law, custom and usage and the unwritten law of Alabama all declare that the electors shall vote for the national party nominee and are merely messengers and not free agents, Crenshaw argued.

He argued that the days of the Hamiltonian theory that a few people could dictate the election of the president were of the past and that in this day and age of rapid communication the country couldn't survive under the scheme that operated 150 years ago.

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Crenshaw claimed that the federal court had jurisdiction because the matter was a constitutional question involving the right of the people to vote for president. He said it was not a political question over which the court had no jurisdiction, as claimed by the electors' lawyers.

Uses Phenix City Poll

Judge Kennamer told Crenshaw the bill of complaint was asking the court to make the electors violate their pledge.

"If the plaintiff (Folsom) had called a meeting and the group then declared itself to be the Democratic party in Alabama and received recognition from the national party, then the plaintiff would have had some standing in this court," he added.

Crenshaw contended that it would be easier to prove that more people voted for Truman on Nov. 2 than voted for Thurmond. He introduced an affidavit from Mayor Homer Cobb, Phenix City which said an unofficial poll conducted election day at voting places showed Truman received 834 votes to 88 for Thurmond.

In addition to objecting to the declarations in the bill of complaint on the grounds the court had no jurisdiction, the electors' attorneys objected "because plaintiff (Folsom) comes into court with unclean hands, soiled by every malfeasance to which virtue is a stranger . . ." "because it shows on its face that it is an abuse of the process of this honorable court" and . . . "because it was not filed in good faith."

The 11 electors, all of whom were present during the four hours of argument yesterday, are Robert B. Albritton, Tom Abernathy, Edmund Blair, Ben Bloodworth, Walter C. Givhan, Tully A. Goodwin, Norman W. Harris, John A. Lusk, Jr., Gessner T. McCorvey, Walter F. Miller and Wilkerson.

AS A PRECAUTION

The Montgomery Adv.
Thurs 11-18-48

The Chattanooga Times, like many other otherwise well-informed papers, does not rightly understand the Alabama act of withholding electoral votes from Truman.

"Recent developments," the Times comments, "indicate voters in several Southern States will have no opportunity to vote for the regular Democratic national ticket of President Truman and Senator Barkley . . . We believe the States Rights ticket, now that it is in the field, is very likely to win a majority in Alabama, Mississippi and perhaps other states. It is perfectly proper for the electorate to have the opportunity to reveal the opinion of its majority."

The fact is, of course, that a majority of Alabama Democrats, in an election where the issue was clearly drawn, okayed the arrangement which exists today. They voted overwhelmingly for anti-Truman electors. If there was deprivation, it was deprivation by majority vote.

But we can scarcely take The Times to task for failing to understand what has happened in Alabama when it is evident that thousands of Alabama voters have forgotten that they voted for all of this last May. The Advertiser

Nevertheless, this misunderstanding illustrates a point The Advertiser has previously made and one from which we believe Democratic Executive Committee members should take warning. If there is any legal way to place Truman-Barkley electors on the November ballot, it would be a wise precaution to encourage it. Otherwise, in the months and years to come there may be complaints—unwarranted but sincere and angry—that voters were foxed. They weren't, but they shouldn't be given the opportunity to think so. 8-2-48

Montgomery Ala

Thurmond Asked To Free Alabama's 11 Electors

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

Gov. Strom Thurmond was called from [illegible] to release Alabama's 11 [illegible] presidential electors from their pledges to vote for him and ask of a resolution by the Madison

County Democratic Executive Committee urging the electors to vote for Truman.

These developments followed on the heels of peacemaker statements by various national Democratic Party leaders, even though Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt called from Paris for a purge of the Southern States' Rights Democrats.

* * *

BUT MRS. ROOSEVELT'S DEMAND that States' Righters who campaigned against Mr. Truman be read out of the party apparently did not set well with Democratic National Chairman Howard McGrath.

When asked to comment on Mrs. Roosevelt's statement, aimed particularly at South Carolina's Sen. Olin Johnston and Mississippi's Rep. John Rankin, along with others she described as "reactionaries," Chairman McGrath said the choice of committee heads in the 81st Democratic-controlled Congress would be left entirely up to Democratic members of the House and Senate.

Earlier a second court suit aimed to force Alabama's 11 electors to vote for Truman was filed in Mobile Circuit Court by State Sen. Joseph N. Langan. This followed a suit filed last week by Gov. James E. Folsom in Federal Court at Montgomery in which he asked an order restraining the electors from voting for anybody but Truman. **The Mobile suit has been set for hearing Nov. 22.**

STATE DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN GESSNER T. McCORVEY, one of the 11 electors and States' Rights campaign leader, had declared that it would be "dishonorable" to vote for Truman after his pledge to vote for Govs. Thurmond and Wright.

Other electors had lashed back sharply at Gov. Folsom, with Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham, asserting the governor is "a disgrace to the state" and calling on him to resign.

Addressing the Birmingham Young Men's Business Club, Dr. Roscoe C. Martin declared "the States' Rights Democratic Party is headed for oblivion." Martin, head of the public administration bureau at University of Alabama, said the States' Righters had no program, no organization and nothing to exist on.

HESTER, IN A TELEGRAM to Gov. Thurmond as the States' Rights Democratic presidential nominee, said:

"I trust you can at this time release your electors from all obligations to you and ask that they support the Democratic nominees for president and vice president, who now have a majority of the electors of this nation.

"I, too, am a Southern Democrat, but I believe this is the time for all our Democrats to unite behind our duly elected president. I believe this will be best for our Southland, and then trust our representatives in the Senate and Congress to hold the lines for us."

* * *

MEMBERS OF organized labor also lashed out at the States' Righters. Delegates to a statewide conference of the Textile Workers Union of America (CIO) yesterday called on the Democratic Party "to remove from office in the National Democratic Committee all those who supported the Dixiecrat conspiracy."

Meeting in Birmingham, the conference also asked in a resolution that necessary legal steps be taken to outlaw "all those political fifth columnists who dishonestly call themselves Democrats."

The delegates, representing all TWUA locals in Alabama, endorsed Gov. Folsom's suit to force the electors to vote for President Truman and resolved to contribute funds "to the limit of our ability to help defray the costs of this historic and all-important court test," State Director H. D. Lisk said contributions would be voluntary.

The resolution called upon "honest, loyal Democrats of the state to substitute for the disloyal leaders who have identified themselves with the Dixiecrat movement really capable and upright men and women who have supported the Truman-Barkley ticket and the principles of their party." The conference also pledged intensification of labor's efforts to repeal the Taft-Hartley act. The resolution warned if Southern Democrats continue to "gang up" with Republicans, they have enough votes to delay and finally, defeat progressive legislation.

The Madison County Democratic Committee voted to donate $750 from its treasury to the National Democratic Executive Committee. In asking that the 11 electors vote for Truman, the Madison Democrats urged party governing bodies in the other counties to take like action.

* * *

WHILE McGRATH declined to comment directly on Mrs. Roosevelt's "purge" proposal, other Democrats, including States' Righters, slapped back at the former first lady who is an American delegate to United Nations sessions in Paris.

Leander Perez, New Orleans attorney and States' Rights spearhead in Louisiana, decried Mrs. Roosevelt's "intolerance" toward the South and said he hoped that, as an American delegate to United Nations, she did not practice the same degree of "intolerance" toward other nations.

The Associated Press quoted National Democratic Committee officials at Washington as saying that Mrs. Roosevelt must have been misinformed about Sen. Johnston's part in the presidential campaign. They pointed out the South Carolina senator announced before the election he was voting for Truman, adding:

"Sen. Johnston lent valuable influence and prestige to the Democratic campaign. He certainly supported the Democratic Party nominees in every way. He helped raise considerable sums of money for the party right up to the election."

JOHNSTON DECLINED to comment on Mrs. Roosevelt's statement, but Rep. Rankin said "the less the American people hear from Mrs. Roosevelt, the better off the country will be."

Gov. Wright, who had wired Mr. Truman his congratulations after the election and who pledged his cooperation to the president, said there is "no place in the Democratic Party for us if Mrs. Roosevelt is going to take over the leadership."

Meantime, Louisiana Sen.-Elect Russell Long said he believes States' Rights Democrats "are ready to return to the regular party."

Sen. Langan, pro-Truman leader in Alabama, set out in his Mobile suit against McCorvey and the other electors that "law, custom and usage" require the electors to vote for President Truman.

SEVERAL OF THOSE made anti-Truman speeches before the Philadelphia convention, but party leaders in the House have indicated the emphasis will be upon harmony rather than punishment when the new Congress meets.

Similarly Democratic National Committee officials were said to hold no grudge against most of the Southern senators—even in the four states of Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina and Louisiana which gave their electoral votes to Gov. J. Strom Thurmond and the States' Rights ticket.

If the States' Righters want to come back into the party and support Mr. Truman's proposals, one national committee official said, they probably will be welcomed home.

But he added that the committee isn't going out courting these folk if they elect to stay mad.

One indication of how some of them feel came from Gov. Fielding L. Wright, of Mississippi, Thurmond's running mate. Wright said there is "no place in the Democratic Party for us if Mrs. Roosevelt is going to take over the leadership." He added:

"If the Democratic Party decides to be the radical party, I'm sure the conservative Southern Democrats will not be inclined to follow that lead."

GOP, Dixiecrats Blast At Demos

The Birmingham News
B'ham, Ala.

Republicans Make Bid For Recruits From Alabama

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

Tempo of the presidential campaigns had been accelerated in Alabama today as Republicans vied with States' Rights Democrats for the spotlight.

Fri 10-8-48

Both whaled away at President Truman and the national Democratic Party, with GOPers holding up the Republican Party as a haven for dissident Democrats.

Strong bids for Democratic recruits in Alabama Republican ranks were made by a national GOP spokesman and by a Republican wheelhorse of this state, National Committeeman Lonnie Noojin. They assured the Birmingham gathering of Republicans and Democratic guests at a Tutwiler Hotel luncheon rally that if Dewey and Warren are elected, they would permit Alabama and other Southern states to handle "civil rights" matters on a state level.

Fri 10-8-48

NOOJIN DROVE home this contention when he quoted from Gov. Warren, who recently declared:

"Everything that can be solved by the states should be solved on that level."

Meanwhile, States' Rights campaigners for the Thurmond-Wright ticket were bearing down hard in Alabama and Tennessee.

Fri 10-8-48

Union Springs' Rep. George Andrews, Third District congressman, told a Montgomery civic group that the split in the Democratic Party is "the South's greatest opportunity since the Civil War.

"If we continue a solid front on States' Rights," Rep. Andrews told the Montgomery Exchange Club, "it will pay dividends. The rest of the nation will turn to us for leadership."

Former Alabama Gov. Frank Dixon declared at Memphis that States' Rights Democrats can bring about the "restoration and revitalizing of the Democratic Party."

John L. E. Collier, California House member, who substituted for National Chairman Scott, made a plea here yesterday for a strong two-party system in Alabama and the rest of the South.

Fri 10-8-48

REP. COLLIER, formerly of Wetumpka, spoke at Montgomery last night in a public forum which aired bids by the four major presidential candidates. He told his Montgomery audience that both Dewey and Warren had promised to remedy any inequalities in the Taft-Hartley law. He said both had shown interest in good labor-management relations.

10-8-48

Florida Sen. Claude Pepper, speaking for President Truman, declared that Republican rule meant depression under Hoover and would mean even a worse depression under Gov. Dewey.

Speaking for States' Righters, Marion Rushton, Montgomery attorney, said: "We believe segregation of federal powers and state powers is the great strength—the great safety valve—of the constitution," which he emphasized must be preserved for the nation to exist.

10-8-48

Henry Wallace, Progressive Party standard-bearer, was described by Palmer Webber, regional director of the Wallace-Taylor campaign, as the "only successful business man running for president this year."

Meanwhile, Mrs. Marie Bankhead Owen, Montgomery, chairman of the States' Rights women's division, was telling a rally of women in Birmingham what they could do if they couldn't elect a president.

"We can let out a squawk for the right to run our own business," declared Mrs. Owen at a Thomas Jefferson Hotel meeting. "We may not elect a president but we can pledge ourselves to fight for states' rights and local self-government under the constitution."

Addressing the several hundred Republicans at the Tutwiler rally, Collier declared.

"The Republican Party has never infringed upon states' rights and there is no reason to believe it will. I am positive that Govs. Dewey and Warren, if they become president and vice president, will let Alabama and other states handle civil rights problems on a state level."

10-8-48

NOOJIN AND COLLIER struck hard in their appeals to Southern Democrats to express their opposition to Truman by voting Republican, rather than merely voicing a protest by casting their ballots for Thurmond and Wright.

After quoting from Gov. Warren's states' rights declaration, Noojin said:

"I especially would like for Alabama States' Rights Democrats to take note of that pronouncement, when such a statement was denied to them at the Democratic convention at Philadelphia, though they virtually prayed for it.

"Small wonder to me, as a result of this rebuff, together with the ignominious and insultingly vindictive attitude displayed toward the Southern Democrats by their so-called 'brother' Democrats in the North, that they are today attempting to do something about it."

The national committeeman went on to say that it was a "pity" the Southern Democrats had not attempted to do something sooner, adding:

"I can't help but feel that some day, and maybe soon, the realization will dawn on the disillusioned Southern Democrat that the salvation of the South and the answer to all their fears and desires is a competing, nationwide two-party system—yes, right here in Alabama."

Collier sought to answer Democratic charges that the GOP-dominated 80th Congress was a "do-nothing Congress." He said it was not responsible for high prices, but asserted the two things to blame most were the tremendous cost of fighting the recent war and "union czars" continually competing to boost wages. This has made production costs jump, he said, adding "As long as the cost of production is high the consumer will have to pay."

Noojin declared that in his opinion the Southern Democrat never again will seek haven in the National Democratic Party. Rather, he said, the Republican Party will become the refugee for Southern Democrats.

COLLIER SAID THE "greatest thing" that could happen to Alabama and other Southern states would be for them to vote Republican.

"You put Alabama in the doubtful column politically," said Collier, "and it would enjoy privileges from both Democrats and Republicans never accorded it before."

Collier argued that the GOP Congress is not to be blamed for the housing shortage, contending that "private enterprise is now building as many houses as is possible to build with shortages of materials." The war, he said, is to blame for material shortages.

Collier took some shots at the CIO, charging this "red-tinged" union wants to organize the Southland "and bring confusion as it has elsewhere."

"If, by chance, the Democratic Party wins," said Collier, "the CIO would come in here with its tinge of that red element and attempt things I know you woudn't put up with."

The California legislator said he had been closely associated with Gov. Warren, had supported his program in the Legislature there and praised both Warren and Dewey as leaders. He pointed out that both are men of "limited means" and that both are "sympathetic toward the working man."

Collier predicted this country would have a "sound and strong domestic economy" under a Dewey-Warren administration.

State Republican Executive Chairman Claude O. Vardaman, who presided over the rally, brought applause from the GOP gathering when he said "Just 25 days from now Dewey and Warren will be elected president and vice president of the U. S." He said the "D. C." abbreviation after Washington "means Dewey's coming."

Party Leader Denies Saying Folsom 'No. 1'

The Montgomery Ala

But Harrington Lauds Governor's Turnabout To Support President

Sat 11-13-48

BY G. C. LONG, JR.

A national Democratic Party leader denied yesterday that he had made the statement that Governor Folsom was the top man in the Democratic Party in Alabama so far as President Truman is concerned.

The remark, according to Stephen H. Harrington, St. Paul advertising executive and national secretary of the Truman-Barkley Club and the man who was supposed to have made it, must have been picked up in a conversation somewhere else.

"The first I knew about that statement was when I read it in the paper," Harrington said. "I wouldn't presume to speak for the President."

Although Harrington denied making the statement, here is how it was obtained, according to the Associated Press, which carried it.

Thursday night when he arrived in Montgomery by plane to visit Governor Folsom he was contacted by a reporter over the telephone.

Rather than take the call himself, the party leader had the reporter's questions relayed to him by a local political leader, who declines the use of his name.

Later the political leader confirmed Harrington's statement that Truman considered Folsom to be the top Democrat in Alabama. He said Harrington was standing nearby while he relayed the questions and he presumed the advertising executive knew he was being quoted for publication.

Party Loyalty

Although Harrington denied to reporters yesterday morning that he had made the statement, he did say he considered that "Jim Folsom showed exceptional party loyalty" in supporting Truman.

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He said he had no comment to make on the governor's previous stand on President Truman—when Folsom was seeking Alabama's support as a favorite son candidate for president and was extremely critical of the President, even to the point of saying that no one in the ocuntry had any faith in Truman any more.

While he wouldn't comment on that, Harrington stated that "before the election he (Folsom) had a perfect understanding with the administration."

Asked if he thought Folsom's support of Truman in the last few weeks of the campaign was an expediency to regain some of his lost political prestige here in Alabama, the party leader remarked:

"I think these political post mortems should be forgot and we should look to the future."

May Forgive "Sins"

He said he agreed with National Democratic Chairman J. Howard McGrath that the president would be willing to "forgive" some of the sins of the protesting Democrats.

Harrington denied his visit to Alabama was for political purposes. He said it was strictly personal and was made at the invitation of the governor.

Entering the press conference late, Folsom said any comments he had would be off the record.

Harrington said he had no plans to go to Florida to see President Truman and that he knew nothing about a visit by the governor to see the President.

Praises Docks

While in Alabama, he continued, he would make an inspection of the State Docks at Mobile.

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He praised the facilities, saying that his agency already used the port's facilities. The docks, he added, will become increasingly important in the years to come if strikes continue to tie up facilities on the east and west coasts.

Although Folsom would talk only off the record at the press conference, he later issued a statement disavowing the idea that he is bossing the Democratic Party in Alabama.

"There isn't any boss," he said. "The party in Alabama is a team. Every Democrat is on that team. That's the way the President wants it; and that's the way the Congressional delegation wants it, and that's the way I want it.

He said his main interest in Washington is that during the next four years Alabama gets her share of political patronage.

"When the Alabama Congressional delegation gets ready to shake the plum tree, if they want me to I'll reach as high as I can and shake as hard as I can," he declared.

Thurmond Silent On Releasing Electors

McCorvey, Wilkinson Assail Rights Plan As Unthinkable; Latter Raps National Demos

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

Fighting over who is entitled to Alabama's 11 electoral votes gained in intensity today as Gov. Strom Thurmond still declined comment on a request that he release the electors so they might vote for President Truman.

Resolutions were being prepared for presentation to the Etowah County Democratic Executive Committee calling on the electors to vote for Truman and asking that State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey and Alabama National Committeeman Marion Rushton resign.

Some party leaders insisted there would be no attempts to crats who fought Truman because of his "civil rights" program and lined up behind Thurmond.

But the electors, particularly McCorvey and Horace Wilkinson, have struck out sharply at attempts to persuade the mto fall in line behind the victorious Truman.

* * *

McCORVEY CONTINUED to assail the "civil rights" proposals as "unthinkable." As to talk about States' Righters getting back in the clared "We have been in it all along and those yho have thrown to the Wfour winds the doctrine of States' Rights are the ones who have left the party."

Wilkinson, answering a letter from W. C. Beebe, Baldwin County Democratic Executive Committee chairman, suggesting that the electors vote for Truman and Barkley as a means of healing the breach in the party, cracked:

"I regret that any Democrat in Alabama would fawn before the crowd now in power in Washington."

Characterizing the National Democratic Party as the "slum and scum party of America, Wilkinson wrote Beebe:

"Truman is no bigger and no better now than when he was elected. The nation is now in the hands of a hopelessly incompetent chief executive just as the state of Alabama is in the hands of a hopelessly incompetent governor."

HE SAID THE STATES' RIGHTERS, who plan to broaded the scope of their operations, "can and will delouse the national party and provide a party for those who respect the Constitution of the United States."

Marshall Hester, Russellville State Democratic Executive Committee member, as have a number of other Alabama Democratic leaders, called on the electors to vote for Truman. Hester also asked Thurmond to release the electors to permit them to vote for the Truman-Barkley ticket.

At Gadsden, Roy McCord, attorney and stay-in delegate to the Demoocratic National Convention, said he was preparing resolutions for introduction before the Etowah party governing body at a special meeting called for Saturday. He said one resolution would ask the electors to vote for Truman and another would ask McCorvey's resignation. Still another, he said, would ask Rushton's resignation.

Rep. Edward B. Miller, Gadsden lawyer and committee chairman, called the special meeting after McCord presented a petition bearing names of 20 members.

TRUMAN'S SUPPORTERS LOSE ANEW IN ALABAMA

Backers Start From Scratch In State Supreme Court

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Nov. 21. — (UP) — President Truman's beleaguered supporters in Alabama lost two more lower court decisions Monday and started from scratch in the state Supreme Court in an effort to deliver the state's electoral vote to the election winner.

Circuit Judge Cecil F. Bates at Mobile threw out a suit against Elector Gessner T. McCorvey. Judge Robert M. Hill at Tuscumbia continued indefinitely a similar suit against Elector Walter F. Miller.

The defendants, like Alabama's other nine Democratic electors, are pledged to States' Righter J. Strom Thurmond. So far, the Thurmond—pledged electors have been upheld in four lower court decisions and in one Federal court case which was initiated by Governor Folsom.

Attorney Jack Crenshaw, counsel for the Truman group, filed an original suit in the State Supreme Court in what is expected to be the final test of the Alabama law binding the party's electors to the national nominee.

The Supreme Court already had held the law unconstitutional in an advisory opinion which was reaffirmed when it refused to review one of the lower court rulings last week.

The new suit was set for a hearing Nov. 29.

The Rascal Is Right

The United States Supreme Court has given Folsom's pro-Truman suit the brush-off. President Truman had before that given the suit the brush-off by saying at a press conference that he did not want the Dixiecrat's 38 electoral votes.

His Excellency's suit to rob Thurmond of his 11 Alabama electoral votes was just some more of his bucolic rascality. Even so, the rascal is entirely correct when he observes that his grape-shot suits did have the effect of intensifying public concern over the outmoded electoral college system of electing Presidents.

It seems to us that reform of the electoral college system is likely before another election. The country has seen what could have happened had the Dixiecrats won enough electoral votes to withhold a majority from Truman. The country isn't going to go from November until Dec. 13 or January to learn who has been elected president. That would be anarchy.

For example, Mme. Chiang is now in this country to make the supreme plea for American aid that seems to be China's one hope of averting communist engulfment with all that means to the security of America. Were the election still in doubt, as it could be, Mme. Chiang would not know whether to address herself to Truman, Dewey, Thurmond or Wallace until the electors voted Dec. 13 and perhaps not until Congress convenes in January.

The system of electors chosen to elect Presidents was fashioned for early stage coach times. The Founding Fathers believed they could prevent politicking and log-rolling in the election by having the widely scattered electors meet in their respective state capitals in December, and cast their vote for a President. They would never be drawn together in one assembly where they might be worked on, nor subjected to pressures for a "deal" because of slow travel and communication.

A precisely opposite condition exists now because of airplanes, long distance phones and telegraphs. These modern facilities would make possible such a deal, such as the Founding Fathers feared might place the tool of a foreign power in the White House.

That this is no idle alarm is evident from the fact that even after Nov. 2, Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, said it would be a "slick idea" if some of the Truman-pledged electors in other states could be induced to withhold their votes from Truman.

The electoral college is as outmoded as were our lame duck congresses prior to reform.

Thus, despite the fungus motives of His Excellency in instituting the suits, we consider him entirely right in believing that they served the desirable purpose of underscoring the need for modernization of the election system.

STATE ELECTOR 'TRUMAN TURN' SAID UNLIKELY

Move Started In One Or Two Counties Is Believed Due For Failure

CONVENTION ADJOURNED

State Chairman Says He Knows Of No Machiner For Its Reopening

Jackson Miss. Nov. 12.—A movement opened in one or two South Mississipp counties to release state Democratic presidential electors to vote for President Harry S. Truman in the National electoral college appeared to be headed for disappointment.

Tom Dunn, of Meridian, chairman of the State Democratic Convention, said that body officially adjourned Nov. 3, and that he knew of no machinery by which it could be called back to order.

The nine presidential electors of this state are pledged to vote for Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for president and Gov. Feilding L. Wright of Mississippi for vice president.

Pledge Holds Tightly

It is considered that the electors could not be officially released from this pledge except by action of the State Democratic Convention.

The convention was held here in June, and recessed.

The automatic adjournment was in accord with a resolution, recessing until Nov. 3 for any continued business. The after-election date was set in order that the convention could be called together in case of need arising from the general elec-tion results.

No need having arisen, heretofore, officials of the convention, Tom Dunn of Meridian, chairman, and T. N. Core, Jr., of Marks, secretary, allowed the body to officially adjourned as provided in the convention resolution.

Move "Out Of Order"

In the face of this fact, it was considered here that the South Mississippi movement is out of order, having come too late for official action.

One high official here declared that he would have liked to have seen the convention meet for the purpose sought by the South Mississippi delegates.

"It would have cleared the doubts of some persons, and the status of the electors would not have been changed," he said.

Previously, Walter Dent May, of Mendenhall, an elector, had told newsme nhe would not change his vote to Truman and Barkley unless the convention of Gov. Fielding L. Wright asked him to do so.

Folsom Races Deadline On State Elector Suit

WASHINGTON, Dec. 3—(AP)—Gov. James E. Folsom of Alabama yesterday entered a race against time in his efforts to force his state's presidential electors to vote for President Truman.

The 11 electors are pledged to cast their ballots for South Carolina's Gov. Strom Thurmond, the States' Rights candidate.

Folsom launched a two-pronged move at the Supreme Court to get action against the electors before Dec. 13, the date, his papers said, the electoral votes are to cast.

He asked the high court to:

1. Issue an immediate injunction against the electors barring them from voting for anyone but President Truman.

2. Overturn a refusal by Federal Judge C. B. Kennamer, of Montgomery, Ala., to issue such an injunction. Judge Kennamer held that he had no jurisdiction in the dispute.

Folsom was permitted to file the first request immediately but ran into a procedural roadblock on the second.

COURT ATTACHES explained that under ordinary procedure an appeal from Judge Kennamer's decision must be filed first in the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans, La.

They said Folsom's papers could not be accepted for filing on the court's dockets until the case is placed with the New Orleans court.

After that, the attaches said, Folsom could ask that the papers be docketed and that the Supreme Court consider the appeal as an emergency case and act on it before the Circuit Court takes it up.

This procedure ordinarily takes about 10 days, the high court officials said, which would mean Dec. 13 would be the earliest Folsom could ask Supreme Court action.

The Supreme Court may, however, act on the Alabama governor's request for an immediate injunction at its next scheduled decision session on Dec. 6.

Folsom told newsmen later that he wants to "make the flat-footed statement that there is not a legal States' Rights Party in Alabama."

"The Democratic vote in Alabama was for the Democratic nominee," he added, "and should be recorded for the Democratic nominees from constable to president."

* * *

HE SAID THE "States' Rights Party got caught in the chicken coop trying to steal our rooster." The rooster is the Democratic emblem in Alabama.

A request for an immediate injunction similar to that Folsom seeks was filed with the Supreme Court last month by three Alabama voters and also could be acted on Dec. 6.

The three voters also asked reversal of an Alabama Supreme Court decision refusing to grant an injunction.

Folsom told reporters that if the Supreme Court refused to act, then Congress may take some action. He said a "substantial proportion of the Alabama delegation in Congress favors some change in the electoral college."

The governor was accompanied to Washington by Alabama State Sen. Broughton Lambert, who, Folsom said, acted as Mr. Truman's campaign manager in the state, Jack Crenshaw, Folsom's chief counsel, Col. Ira Thompson, his legal adviser, and Atty. Jerome Phillips.

Folsom's Legal Aids Reported Opposed To Suit

Said To Have Voted Against Court Action After Truman Win

MOBILE, Ala., Nov. 4—(AP)—The Mobile Press said today Gov. James E. Folsom's six-man legal committee had decided against a court suit to force Alabama's electors to vote for President Truman.

The newspaper said it had learned authoritatively that five of the six members meeting in Montgomery yesterday voted against the action in view of Truman's decisive victory.

Committee members who conferred on the matter were listed as Kenneth Griffith, former legal adviser to Folsom; James Mayfield, Tuscaloosa; State Sen. A. L. Patterson, Phoenix City; Ira Thompson, the governor's legal adviser, and W. C. Taylor, Mobile.

* * *

STATE SEN. JOSEPH N. LANGAN, of Mobile, a sixth member of the group who was absent from yesterday's meeting, could not be reached for comment. His office reported he was attending classes at Spring Hill College here.

Gov. Folsom said yesterday morning he was going ahead with plans to file the suit seeking to force the 11 Democratic electors to vote for Truman in the Electoral College.

Theseelectors have pledged themselves to vote for Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, the States' Rights candidate.

RECKLESS AND FRANTIC

The Advertiser has found few occasions on which to defend Gov. Folsom, his antic administration and his scrub associates. But we are unimpressed by the charge that Folsom and associates planned a conspiracy to raise money for a court fight and divert the money to their private uses.

The Advertiser and other papers printed that charge because it became a matter of official court record and could not have been properly withheld from public knowledge.

The charge was entirely unsupported. Those who made it frankly owned to the court that they had no means of proving the charge.

The accusation grew out of Folsom's scatter-shot suits to compel Thurmond electors to switch Alabama's vote to President Truman. It was in the Morgan County court that Legislator Norman Harris, himself a presidential elector, charged Folsom & Associates with a conspiracy to defraud by raising money for court actions but keeping it for themselves.

The racketeering in the Folsom administration makes such a charge superficially credible. But greedy as Folsom and his band are, they would not, we conjecture, waste their time on this kind of racketeering. They're interested in the more fruitful, continuing and conventional forms of racketeering.

Folsom doubtless decided on raising money to bring the pro-Truman suits as a variation of the Suds Bucket idea. To raise the money from citizens is calculated to give the pro-Truman putsch an aura of a "people's revolt."

We therefore do not believe for a moment that a swindle was the motive of the fund-raising effort.

What makes us further certain that no such conspiracy existed is the fact that two of the accused are Attorneys Files and Jack Crenshaw, of Montgomery. They are honorable men. Further than that, and as Jack Crenshaw has pointed out, he and his brother are not, nor ever were, members of the Folsom gang of marauders.

State Senator Joe Langan of Mobile was also accused. Langan is a Folsom supporter. He is a rather erratic man whose lungs have more strength than the organ behind his spectacles. But never in or out of the legislature have we ever heard his integrity questioned.

The conspiracy charge appears to us reckless, unfair and frantic in nature.

APPLAUSE FOR FOLSOM'S SUIT

The Advertiser looks with favor on the suit Gov. Folsom is filing to compel Alabama electors to break their covenant and cast the state's 11 electoral votes for President Truman.

We take this view because it is important to the government of this country that this vital question of electoral college mechanics be settled for all time.

It is deeply offensive to The Advertiser that this berserk peckerwood, otherwise the 46th Governor of Alabama, presumes to undo the sovereign act of the 300,000 Alabamians who voted in May and June against Truman.

The motive that inspires him is in the nature of gross tyranny and in the tradition of the most repugnant opportunism.

But there are considerations larger than the blind staggers and lunges of this lost and bewildered man.

Regardless of how Alabama's 11 electoral votes are cast, President Truman has been elected President. Alabama's vote cannot influence that in the slightest degree. That is true of the total of 38 votes cast for the Dixiecrats. Truman doesn't have the slightest need for them.

Therefore, it is no matter whether Alabama's 11 electoral votes go to Truman or remain with Thurmond.

But it is important to the orderly government of the United States that the 20th Century status of the electoral college be established. Alabama provides an excellent test case.

The question has never been ruled on by the United States Supreme Court. It has not been adjudicated beyond the level of state courts—which opinions (as The Advertiser pointed out last March) nullified electoral manipulation such as Alabama experimented with.

It is not necessary to plunge deeply into the legal aspects of the role and power of presidential electors. It's a question of:

1.—Do electors still have full discretion —as provided plainly in the Constitution— to cast a state's popular vote for whom they will and regardless of preferential primaries—

2.—Or, since they have not functioned that way in more than 100 years, are they simply "messenger boys" without discretion?

It is necessary first to understand why messenger boys who automatically and obediently cast the state's vote according to their party. When in 1944 a law partner of Gessner T. McCorvey was an elector and sought to withhold his vote from Roosevelt there was an explosion that withered him. (It was different this year because 300,000 Alabamians instructed the 11 electors to withhold the state's vote from Truman).

But to get back to the original role of the presidential elector. In the first days of presidential electors. Each state has as many electors (or electoral votes) as it does congressmen and senators. The name of a presidential candidate never appears on the ballot in this state. Alabamians have always voted, not for a Roosevelt or a Wilson or a Truman, but for 11 electors appearing under the Democratic symbol, the rooster.

For over 100 years nobody has paid much attention to electors because they acted as

of the republic they were elected by the people to function as an independent and trustworthy body to choose for the people a president. They were to be carte blanche proxies of the people.

Alexander Hamilton explained it all in The Federalist Papers. Paraphrasing Hamilton:

1. The "sense of the people" should operate in the choice of an executive. This was preserved by allowing the people to choose electors who would choose a president.

2. Tumult and disorder at the election of a president will be avoided. It was desired that the election of presidents should be free from "cabal, intrigue and corruption." Foreign powers in a popular election might influence the people to elect an agent of theirs. It would be almost impossible to corrupt a widely scattered group of electors in a day of horse travel.

But the electoral college hasn't functioned that way because the reasons for its existence have disappeared. But the law providing for them remained, as archaic and whimsical as the law that requires Alabama governors to take an oath that they have not and will not duel.

This year, as a means of revolting against Truman, the ancient role of the elector was revived. The voters of Alabama—not any sinister group in a smoke-filled room—instructed their 11 electors to withhold the state's Democratic vote from Truman and left it to the electors as to whom they would vote for.

Cometh now the 46th governor with twin suits to compel these electors to vote for Truman despite that.

As we said, he is motivated by the grossest of motives in this suit, but we welcome the suits as likely they will settle forever the role of electors.

Consider what would now be happening if Alabama's 11 electoral votes held the outcome of the Truman-Dewey election. Suppose it depended on the will of our 11 electors.

This country would be in turmoil be-

Wallace Birmingham Talk Canceled In Segregation Protest; Aide Egged

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Sept. 1—(AP)—A shower of eggs greeted J. P. Mooney, Progressive Party Campaign Chairman, of Alabama, today after he announced that Henry Wallace had canceled his Birmingham speech because of segregation.

Police had stretched a rope on the west side of the Jefferson County courthouse to separate whites and Negroes.

And upon his arrival here Wallace ran into a group of Negro pickets. They were picketing against him, not for him.

The Negroes, who said they were students at famed Tuskegee Institute, paraded in the courthouse square carrying placards which read: "Go back to Moscow, Wallace," and "Down with the FEPC."

One sign read:

"Wallace, your program has set the Negro back 50 years. We are tired of being a political football."

Police Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor estimated 3,000 persons had gathered to hear the Progressive Party's candidate for President. Approximately 250 were Negroes, who stood on the north side of the rope.

Mooney took the speaker's platform.

"The Progressive Party of Alabama had hoped to present to you the greatest living American, the man President Roosevelt chose for Secretary of Agriculture and Vice President of our great country," he said. "However, the Progressive Party will not take part in any gathering that violates the Constitution of the United States.

"We believe in free speech and free assembly without police restriction or police intimidation."

After he finished, about a dozen eggs sailed from the crowd toward Mooney. None hit him. Police started to arrest a boy, but he said he didn't know he wasn't supposed to throw eggs. He was not arrested.

Commissioner Connor addressed the crowd before Mooney's appearance.

He asked the crowd to "help me see that he (Wallace) has a respectful and full hearing of whatever he has to say. Birmingham must not injure her good name by being unkind to any visitor within her gates."

Wallace and his party prepared to go to nearby Bessemer, Ala., for a radio address.

Earlier, Wallace cancelled a speech at Gadsden, Ala., because police stretched ropes on the courthouse lawn to enforce segregation.

In a radio speech here tonight, Wallace deplored the segregation efforts in Gadsden and Birmingham, which he said are "dominated by Northern steel corporations."

He had spoken in three other Alabama towns today and in each case a few Negroes stood shoulder-to-shoulder with white listeners. Everywhere his reception was peaceful.

Folsom and Alabama Voters

Hammond, La.

Editor, The Times-Picayune:

A Times-Picayune editorial of November 22 states that 'Governor Folsom . . . pointed out that 'most voters (in Alabama) thought they were voting for Truman, not Thurmond electors."

If Governor Folsom made such statement, then he has cast a very serious reflection on the intelligence of the Alabama voters. In fact, he has said in effect that most voters are illiterate.

I feel sure that the Alabama voters have a much higher I. Q. than Governor Folsom credits them with having. If they voted for Thurmond electors there is no doubt that they did so with the full knowledge that they were actually voting for Governor Thurmond for president. I am sure that there are no more loyal and patriotic citizens in the United States than those of Alabama.

LUCILE BRAKENRIDGE TILL

THEY WON FIRST ROUND—Alabama's 11 presidential electors are shown on the steps of the federal building yesterday at the noon recess of the U. S. District Court. Shortly afterward Federal Judge C. B. Kennamer denied a petition for a temporary injunction, filed by Governor Folsom, to keep them from voting for States' Rights Candidates Thurmond and Wright. The electors are, left to right, first row: Walter F. Miller, Rep. Walter C. Givhan, Ben Bloodworth, Robert B. Albritton, Edmund Blair. Back row: Rep. Norman W. Harris, Tom Abernethy, John A. Lusk, Jr., Gessner T. McCorvey, Horace Wilkinson and Tully A. Goodwin. (Staff Photo, Albert Kraus.)

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Our Electoral Votes

As Mr. Truman does not need Alabama's electoral votes to be assured of election, the question of the validity of the state law of 1945 requiring the electors to support the nominee of the national party with which they were affiliated, does not bear decisively on the action of the electoral college. But it remains important whether electors are free agents, as an advisory opinion of the State Supreme Court ruled, or are bound to support the party's nominees, as has been the general practice and as was the intent of the State Legislature of 1945.

A definite decision is needed, so that in the future it would be clear whether a state party organization could participate in a national convention and its state electors still not be bound to support the nominees of the convention.

In the beginning, electors were sovereign agents of the people. It was believed that such a process promised a better choice than popular vote to select its presidents. We have gotten far from that idea, however. Today, in a sense never envisioned by the founding fathers, the people choose the president. They express their preferences, in many states, in primaries. In the general election, they choose among the candidates for president. Seldom do they know just who the electors are and what qualifications they possess for the job of choosing a president. Seldom does it matter.

Modern means of communication and education, coupled with changes in political processes, have made the elector usually pretty much a figurehead. The electoral college for many years has been nothing more than a means for recording the public will. Even if, in this year of 1948, no candidate received a majority of the electoral votes, it probably would have been Congress, not the electoral college, which would have decided the issue. There would have been little likelihood that any extended controversy or change of alignment would have come in the electoral college. These votes are cast in state elector meetings in each state capitol and the results mailed to Washington.

But while there are many arguments in favor of retaining the electoral vote system, the electoral college as such is just about passe. We might do away with electors altogether, casting votes directly for the candidates for president and vice president, without disturbing matters in any important way. At the very least, we need a clearer interpretation of the elector's role in today's election machinery. And now that the Alabama case can be decided on its merits, without altering the outcome of the election, it will be a good thing to have a clear ruling on this issue.

NEVER AGAIN PROBABLY

It appears now that, after all, Alabama is not to supply an historic settlement of the degree of discretion retained by presidential electors after a century of rubber stamping. Nevertheless it appears highly unlikely that the question will ever again arise as it has in Alabama this year.

Practically, a President was elected Nov. 2 by a popular vote. But according to law, the President will not actually be elected until mid-December when presidential electors meet in every state capital to cast their vote.

Originally these electors were elected by the people to elect a President of their choosing. But for a century and more electors have not exercised this freedom and have routinely voted in accordance with November instructions from the people.

The people of Alabama overwhelmingly voted for 11 presidential electors who were under oath never to cast the state's vote for Truman. But Folsom sued in Federal court to compel them to switch the state's vote from Thurmond to Truman.

It had been anticipated that the case would progress to the United States Supreme Court for final settlement. The question has never been settled in the U. S. Supreme Court. But no legal settlement is now in prospect because the court here has ruled that it lacked jurisdiction in the question.

Nevertheless, law or no law, it is doubtful that electors in this state will ever again be granted full proxy powers of the voters. The electoral vote system has long since outlived its original purpose. It was designed in Washington's day when it was believed that the electorate could not be trusted to choose its Presidents and when there was a fear of foreign powers electing their agent as President. The electoral system is now as useless as sleeve buttons or wisdom teeth.

Electors (Alabama--Folsom Case)

For better or worse, reform of the electoral system by constitutional amendment is strongly indicated. The movement had gained considerable headway in Congress during Roosevelt's time.

Ironically, the Alabama legislature was nervous over the dormant but legal powers of electors and passed the Bentley Act in 1945 that required electors to vote according to the Rooster over their head (the Alabama Supreme Court invalidated this, making possible the Dixiecrat revolt in this state).

There was no deceit or bad faith in the pledging of anti-Truman electors in Alabama. The plan was described repeatedly on the front pages of every newspaper and broadcast in every forum. It is true, we believe, that voters did not fully understand the electoral system, but that might well be said of all issues and all campaigns.

Nevertheless electoral vote withholding undeniably smacks of manipulation and the country just isn't going to permit its elections to depend on anything that resembles manipulation. The withholding of 38 electoral votes in four Dixiecrat states is sure to stimulate congressional action on a constitutional amendment.

Two New Suits Seek To Force Truman Votes

Lamberth Threatens All Electors With Action In Their Home Courts

By The Associated Press

New legal maneuvers aimed at giving Alabama's electoral votes to President Truman bobbed up in court yesterday.

One was a mandamus suit filed in circuit court in Decatur against Presidential Electors Norman Harris and Ben Bloodworth. They and the other nine electors have pledged their support to Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, States' Rights presidential candidate.

Another came in Birmingham, where three voters asked the chancery court for a temporary injunction to prevent the 11 electors from voting for Thurmond.

State Senator Broughton Lamberth, a member of the legal committee which is preparing the suits, said here that similar action will be taken against each of the electors individually in counties where they live.

In each case, he said, the circuit court will be asked for a temporary restraining order to prevent the electors from voting for anyone but President Truman and an order requiring them to vote for the President.

Similar action was taken in federal court earlier by Gov. Folsom against all 11 electors and by State Senator Joseph N. Langan in Mobile circuit court against elector Gessner T. McCorvey.

Sparkman Speaks

Senator Sparkman (D), Alabama, voiced hope meanwhile, that the firing of U. S. Internal Revenue Collector Mortimer Jordan in Birmingham will not mean the start of a new pattern of Federal employment in Alabama. Jordan was discharged for refusing to obey a presidential FEPC order.

The petition against the two electors in Decatur was filed by D. T. Kinney, chairman of the Cullman County Democratic Executive Committee, and E. L. Drinkard, of Falkville, a member of the State Democratic Committee. Like the two previous suits, it seeks to force the electors to cast their votes for Mr. Truman in the electoral college.

In Birmingham, the plaintiffs were George C. Adcock, E. Z. Yeager and Gus Gulas. Acting as individuals and on "behalf of other citizens," they contend the States' Righters illegally used the Democratic party emblem on the ballot.

The dismissal of Jordan as internal revenue collector brought from Sen. Sparkman the assertion that some employment regulations can't be enforced in the South because of racial customs and traditions. The presidential order prohibited job discrimination because of "race, color, religion or national origin."

Whatever the outcome, the issue in Alabama at least seemed bound for another airing before the Legislature next May.

One argument of Folsom and his colleagues is that a 1945 law requires the electors to vote for the national party nominees. If the courts uphold the law, some members of the Legislature are almost sure to try to get it repealed.

The governor, on the other hand, says he wants the constitution itself changed to see that electors in the future go along with the national party.

Wilkinson Says Folsom Barred Truman's Name

Governor Folsom has been charged by Birmingham Attorney Horace C. Wilkinson with being "most responsible for (President) Truman not being on the ballot" in Alabama.

In a bitter telegram replying to one Folsom sent him asking that he cast his electoral vote for Truman, Wilkinson declared that the governor wanted Truman's name kept off the ballot as long as he could legally do so.

Continuing, he said that after previously stated Rights organization snubbed you and acted on it until the States opinion at the and did not make you its standner T. McCorvey, ard bearer or use you in the camman of the State paign because you were regardecutive Committee as a liability," Wilkinson the law clarified. Continuing, he said that after t, passed by the the governor was "repudiated" s says that presi- by the people (in the May and s must vote for June primaries when Folsom rty nominee.) failed to win a delegate's seat in d that opinion the Democratic convention) and t or complaint was "snubbed" by the States'

Righters, "you pretended an alleged affection for Truman."

"Such colossal hypocrisy will not land you a federal job, at least it should not do so," Wilkinson stated.

Wilkinson, who was politically close to Folsom during the 1946 campaign, told Folsom he is a "disgrace to the state" and should resign as governor.

Leaders Named To Seek Funds For Folsom Suit

Lawyers Visit 8 States; Hearings On Elector Rift Set Wednesday

Governor Folsom's attorneys are reaching out into other Southern states to collect data for his court suit against the state's presidential electors.

Meanwhile, a source that requested to remain anonymous, released a list of persons over the state who, he said, will help collect money to defray the expenses of the governor's suit to compel Alabama's 11 electors, pledged to the States' Rights ticket, to vote for President Truman.

Gen. James S. Saliba, chairman of the finance committee of the pro-Truman rally held here Nov. 1, said last night that he could not verify the list because he had not seen it.

He added, however, that he was working on the statewide organization and would release all the names on the various finance committees when it is complete.

General Saliba did confirm some of the names read to him as being members of the committee.

However, Melvin Dawkins, Montgomery, chairman of the Montgomery County finance committee, verified the names on his group.

They are Louie Evans, co-chairman, Boylston; Thomas S. Adair, Professional Center; Mrs. C. N. Bowden, 9 Louisville Street; H. E. Sullivan, 21 Oak Forest Drive; C. L. Metcalf, Teel's Barber Shop; Robert E. Coburn, 13 1-2 Commerce Street, and Rep. Charles M. Pinkston, 20 1-2 South Perry Street.

Other than to say he had not had a meeting of the group, Dawkins declined comment.

Visit Eight States

As for the attorneys gathering information for the suit, State Senator Broughton Lamberth, chairman of the Pro-Truman Rally sponsoring the legal action, said Folsom aides visited eight states over the week-end gathering official election returns.

O. H. Finney, Jr., executive secretary to the governor, went to Raleigh and Nashville Saturday to check on election results of North Carolina and Tennessee.

At Raleigh, he got an affidavit from the secretary of state to the effect that in North Carolina the names of the candidates, and not electors, are on the general election ballot.

Finney also was given an unofficial report of North Carolina's presidential vote and a statement that "according to custom" that state's electoral vote will be cast for Truman.

Other aides visited the state capitols of Florida, Arkansas, Texas, South Carolina, Louisiana and Mississippi.

Lamberth, who visited the Georgia capitol himself, said they were collecting copies of the official certificates of election results.

He said the governor's legal counsel had doubts that newspaper reports of election results would be accepted as evidence in court.

Hearing Wednesday

The hearing before Federal Judge C. B. Kennamer Wednesday, is on Folsom's petition for an injunction to keep the electors from voting for anyone other than President Truman when electoral ballots are cast in December.

Here are some of the other persons listed as being on the Finance Committee for Folsom's suit:

Autauga County—Judge G. L. Gaddis, chairman, Prattville; Christine Smitherman, co-chairman, Prattville, and Robert G. Ausbon, Prattville.

Baldwin County — Jimmy Faulkner, chairman, Bay Minette.

Barbour County—Rep. George Wallace, chairman, Clayton.

Bibb — Judge G. H. Stacey, chairman, Centerville.

Bullock—Carl Green, chairman, Union Springs.

Butler—Gip Steindorff, chairman, Greenville; Bob Lott, co-chairman, Greenville; J. L. Cowart, co-chairman, Greenville, and J. G. McLain, Chapman.

Chambers—P. S. Finney, chairman, LaFayette.

Chilton—Ben Tucker, chairman, Clanton; Doyle McRae, Clanton and D. S. Smith, Clanton.

Choctaw—Matt Blount, chairman, Butler.

Clarke—Dr. John A. Hill, chairman, Thomasville, and W. W. Nelson, co-chairman, Fulton.

Clay—Mayor H. B. Garrett, chairman, Ashland.

Coffee—Ross Clark, chairman, Elba; Ben Logan, co-chairman, Elba, and Forrest P. Brunson, Elba.

Conecuh—J. E. Skinner, chairman, Castleberry.

Coosa—Judge Winston Stewart, chairman, Rockford.

Covington—James Yeaman, chairman, Florala; H. W. Morrow, Opp; and C. P. Moore, chief of police, Opp.

Crenshaw—Judge Frank Lloyd, chairman, Luverne.

Dale—R. G. Hudson, chairman, Ozark.

Dallas—Mrs. Sadie Gardner, chairman, Selma.

Elmore—Dr. J. S. Sewell, chairman, Wetumpka; L. A. Achimon, Tallassee; J. T. Robertson, Tallassee; and C. T. Arnold, Wetumpka.

Escambia—H. E. Horton, chairman, Brewton; Maury O. Weaver,

The political radicals in Alabama politics—insofar as the disposition of Alabama's 11 electoral votes is concerned—are one Folsom and one McCorvey.

Folsom desires to nullify a sovereign act of the voters of Alabama. He desires that the courts change 300,000 Thurmond votes into Truman votes.

He wants to stuff the state's ballot boxes.

Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, wants to nullify the sovereign will of the American people.

McCorvey has a "slick idea" for accomplishing nullification of the Presidential election.

He wants to stuff the nation's ballot boxes.

The popular voting occurred Nov. 2. But not until December do the Presidential electors vote in the electoral college. There was a rumored plan to campaign among these Southern electors, pledging them to withhold or divert their state's vote from Truman if he would not drop the Civil Disturbance program. That to change the result of the Nov. 2 election of Truman.

The Associated Press on Nov. 8 quoted McCorvey as saying that this "sounds like a slick idea."

Thus McCorvey is willing for the Presidential electors in other states to dishonor their pledges and defy the expressed will of the voters.

Court To Hear All Questions In Folsom Suit

Attorneys For Electors To Deny Jurisdiction; Cite 20 Grounds Today

Governor Folsom's suit to compel Alabama's 11 electors to vote for President Truman will open in Federal Court here at 10 a.m. today, with attorneys for the electors contending the court is without jurisdiction.

As it now stands the state's electors, who were given an overwhelming majority on Nov. 2, are pledged to vote for the States' Rights ticket of Thurmond and Wright.

Federal Judge C. B. Kennamer said yesterday he is ready to hear pleadings on all questions raised in Folsom's complaint but that he desn't know yet how far attorneys for both sides would carry the case.

Earlier, the judge said that at the request of the governor's attorneys he would hear only that part of the petition asking for a temporary injunction to keep the electors from voting for Thurmond.

20 Objections

At Mobile, Sam M. Johnston, chief defense attorney, announced his legal staff is prepared for a battle on the merits of the case. The defense, he said, will object to federal court action on 20 grounds.

Johnston said the defense will also cite a ruling of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in the disputed Texas Democratic senatorial primary. On that occasion the appellate court dismissed a temporary injunction brought by a lower court.

Judge Kennamer has delayed a decision on whether to ask for a three-judge panel for the suit until he sees the answer filed by the defense. If he decides not to hear the case alone, a postponement will be necessary.

The judge explained that Judge Joseph Hutcheson of Houston, acting senior judge for the Fifth Circuit, would have to be contacted to assign two extra judges to the panel.

Individual Suits

Folsom filed his suit in federal court close on the heels of the President's surprise victory over Governor Dewey in the Nov. 2 general election. Since then suits have been filed individually against each of the electors in state courts.

The governor is asking the federal court for an injunction to restrain the electors from voting against Mr. Truman, a writ of mandamus to require them to vote for him and a declaratory judgment defining the duties of the electors.

The chief defense counsel said the objections his staff will raise will set out:

That a federal statute forbids intervention of the judicial department in any election for the office of "elector for president or vice-president," members of Congress or of state legislatures.

(He said the court of appeals cited the same statute in its ruling in the Texas election suit.)

That the election was filed prematurely before the electors themselves had been notified by Gov. Folsom of their appointment, and before a president or vice-president had been elected.

That the 1945 state law binding the electors to vote for the nominee of the national convention of the party by which they were elected is unconstitutional.

The state supreme court has held in an informal advisory opinion that the statute violates a federal constitution provision declaring electors to be free agents in casting their ballots for president and vice-president.

Gov. Folsom's petition claims that prior to passage of the 1945 act. Democratic electors supported national party nominees "by custom, usage and what was considered to be a pledge of honor."

Folsom Files Suit To Force Truman Vote

Public Support Urged; Four Electors Reply They Will 'Stand Pat'

Governor Folsom yesterday filed suit in U. S. District Court here in an effort to force Alabama's 11 Democratic electors to cast their votes for President Truman.

The governor also telegraphed the electors ,who are pledged to support Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, the States Rights candidate, asking them to voluntarily support Mr. Truman. And, in a proclamation, he called on everyone in Alabama, "regardless of political parties or creeds" to unite behind the president.

He also asked them to petition the legislature to submit a constitutional amendment "so that no such confusing situation will exist in the future." In addition he issued a statement saying electors "have an obligation to join Truman's ranks."

And to President Truman, the governor sent a telegram advising him of the action he took and renewing an invitation to Mr. Truman to visit Alabama. Folsom once campaigned against the president.

Folsom's suit was directed against the following 11 presidential electors:

State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, of Mobile; Tom Abernethy, of Talladega; Robert B. Albritton, of Andalusia; Edmund Blair, of Pell City; Ben Bloodworth, of Decatur, State Representative Walter C. Givhan, of Safford; State Representative Norman Harris, of Decatur; Tully Goodwin, of Florala; John A. Lusk, Jr., of Gadsden; Walter F. Miller, of Tuscumbia; and Horace C. Wilkinson, of Birmingham.

In reply to Folsom's telegrams, Walter C. Givhan said "under no conditions" would he go back on his pledge; Robert B. Albritton insisted that he would stand on the promise he made to the people of Alabama to cast his ballot for Thurmond; and McCorvey called the suit a "lot of wasted effort." He said it "doesn't have an ounce of merit." Tully A. Goodwin replied that he didn't think "it amounts to a row of pins."

The suit was filed before Judge C. B. Kennamer, a Republican. But whether he will hear the complaint himself or ask for a three-judge panel, Kennamer said he won't know until he studies the petition. The defendants were given 20 days to answer the suit.

Signing the petition were Gov. Folsom, his legal adviser, State Representative Ira B. Thompson, of Luverne, Files and Jack Crenshaw, of Montgomery, and the following six members of a "people's" legal committee named at a Truman mass meeting here Monday:

State Senators Joseph N. Langan, of Mobile, Broughton Lamberth ,of Alexander City; and A. L. Patterson ,of Phenix City; and W. C. Taylor, of Mobile; Kenneth Griffith, of Cullman; and James Mayfield, of Tuscaloosa.

Folsom's statement follows in part:

"The overwhelming vote for the Democratic candidates throughout the nation speaks for itself. By itself it should show the Alabama electors that they have an obligation to join ranks in support of the new four-year administration under President Truman.

"I firmly believe that this is true: 1—The majority of the people of Alabama have always been Democratic; 2—The majority of the Democrats of Alabama are in favor of the Presidential Electors named on the Democratic ticket in Alabama casting their votes in favor of the nominees of the Democratic National Convention for President and Vice-President of the United States.

"I hope, and believe, that the Electors will come to this conclusion themselves. I know they are all honorable gentlemen and sincerely wish to properly represent the people of Alabama.

"That is why I filed this suit. When the Court tells them that they should obey the will of the majority of the people—and I am not going into the facts of their legal and moral obligations to do so because that is the province of the Court and I will obey its order, whatever it may be, and I believe they will, too. When, as I say, the Court declares it their duty as electors, I believe they will be freed from the situation in which they now find themselves, and that they can, with honor and dignity, cast their ballots in accordance with the wish of the people of Alabama and of the whole United States as this wish has been so clearly expressed at the general election on Nov. 2.

"I hope these gentlemen will see their way clear to do this."

The complaint asked for an injunction to prevent the electors from voting for anyone but President Truman and a declaratory judgment "declaring the rights and duties of the plaintiff (Folsom) and the defendants."

1945 Law

The governor asked the court to uphold a 1945 law which says the electors must support "the nominee of the national convention of the party by which they were elected."

That law has been held unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court, but only in an informal advisory opinion. Therefore, the governor contends, it is still in force.

The petition also contended that prior to 1945, Democratic electors supported the national party nominees "by custom, usage and what was considered to be a pledge of honor."

"The voters . . . in most instances did not know the names of the electors for president and vice president of the United States," the suit continued, but understand that by voting the straight Democratic ticket they were voting for the nominees of the Democratic national convention."

Folsom argued in his complaint that the majority of Alabama voters by supporting the Democratic Party "intended thereby" to vote for President Truman and that "sample ballots taken at voting places and other places throughout the states" proved that.

One unofficial straw vote was taken at Phenix City on election day, and Mayor Homer Cobb said the count was 834 for Mr. Truman and 88 for Gov. Thurmond.

To permit the electors to vote for the States' Rights ticket the governor continued, would be to "defraud the voters of Alabama of their constitutional rights and privileges."

Must Proclaim Results

He pointed out that he must proclaim the results of the election within 15 days after the voting, and that would mean a certification that the Democratic electors were victorious. But, he added, the governor "should not be required to . . . proclaim the results of any election, if the effects of the same would be to work a fraud upon the voters of Alabama."

"Irreparable injury will result to the voters . . . if the defendants (electors) are permitted to carry out their threat to violate" the law, the suit added.

Folsom contended further that no effort was made to qualify Gov. Thurmond and his running mate, Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi, as "candidates of the 'States' Rights' Party" or to certify such "party" or its emblem to the secretary of state.

He said that neither he nor any other person had a chance to qualify as electors after the 11 defendants signed a pledge to vote against the President. The pledge was made March 18, nearly three weeks after the qualifying deadline closed on March 1.

Folsom Claim Denied By Gessner McCorvey

MOBILE, ALA., Nov. 5—(AP)—Elector Gessner T. McCorvey tonight refused Gov. James E. Folsom's request that he vote for President Truman.

McCorvey said that to do so in the face of his pledge to support the States' Rights candidate, J. Strom Thurmond, would be "a dishonorable act."

He said he believed he spoke the sentiments of all 11 Alabama electors, all of whom are pledged to Thurmond.

McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee and a leader of States' Rights forces, said he had been under "considerable pressure" since the election to vote for Truman, but that he had refused to be swayed.

Replying to Folsom's telegraphic appeal to vote for Truman, McCorvey said he disagreed with the governor's claim that the electors were "legally and morally" bound to support Truman.

"At no time and at no place and under no circumstances have I or any of the other 10 presidential electors who were elected last Tuesday made any pledge to support Harry S. Truman," McCorvey said.

"On the other hand, we made a clear, emphatic, unambiguous and positive pledge to the Democrats of Alabama long prior to the May 4, 1948 primary that under no circumstances, if we were elected as presidential electors, would we cast our electoral vote for Harry S. Truman or any other candidate advocating his diabolical racial program.

"My legal and moral duty requires me to cast my electoral vote for someone other than Harry S. Truman and my electoral vote will be cast for Governor Thurmond, a real Democrat."

Folsom Loses Third Round With Electors

State Suit Dismissed; U. S. Supreme Court Bid Slated Today

By G. C. LONG, JR.

For the second time in recent weeks the Alabama Supreme Court yesterday refused to take any action to compel the state's 11 electors, pledged to the States' Rights ticket, to vote for President Truman.

The state's highest tribunal did that by dismissing for lack of jurisdiction a suit filed recently by Gov. Folsom in the name of the State of Alabama.

The suit asked for an injunction and other remedies to keep the electors from voting for anyone other than President Truman.

Meanwhile, in Washington Gov. Folsom said yesterday he plans to ask the U. S. Supreme Court to consider his suit against the electors.

Maybe Today

"My lawyers are now working on the suit and we may be ready this afternoon (Wednesday) although tomorrow (Thursday) morning is more probable," the governor told Washington reporters.

In refusing to take jurisdiction over the case, the State Supreme Court said that the petition "fails to present a controversy within the jurisdiction of the court and we decline to take jurisdiction of the controversy."

The justices also stated that some of the authorities cited by Folsom's lawyers in their petition had been examined and were considered not to be "apt." They added:

"We are also clear in the conclusion that the state in its corporate capacity is without interest in the controversy presented by the petition in this case."

Last month one justice of the court refused to override a ruling by a lower court refusing to grant a temporary injunction to prevent the electors from voting for the States' Rights candidates.

Even before that, however, the State Supreme Court had refused to take a part in making the electors vote for the nominee of the national party.

It did that by calling unconstitutional, in an advisory opinion, a 1945 legislation act that said the electors must vote for the nominee of the national party.

Ruling Explained

Explaining its ruling yesterday, the court noted that an election is "a political matter, with which courts of equity have nothing to do" and "such interference might result in destruction of the government."

"The attempt to check the free expression of opinion—to forbid the peaceable assemblage of the people—to obstruct freedom of elections . . . would result in the overthrow of all liberty regulated by law.

The mere effort to assume such power is dangerous to the rights of the citizens. If the courts can dictate to the officers of the people that they shall not hold an election from fear of some imaginary wrong, then the people and officers are entirely subservient to the courts."

Gov. Folsom lost in another effort to force the electors to vote for Truman when Federal Judge C. B. Kennamer, Tuesday, threw a similar case out of his court here because, he said, he did not have jurisdiction.

Several circuit courts over the state have also refused to grant the governor the relief he seeks to make the electors vote for the president.

Immediately, attorneys for the Folsom In Washington

Elector Suit Is Dismissed; Appeal Slated

To Urge High Court To Rule In Similar Case

Gov. Folsom's suit to compel Alabama's electors to vote for President Truman yesterday was thrown out of U. S. District Court here by Judge C. B. Kennamer.

governor announced they would appeal to a higher tribunal, possibly directly to the U. S. Supreme Court.

In the meantime, Folsom and several of his attorneys left Montgomery for Washington, where it is understood they will try to get the Supreme Court to consider a similar case already filed there.

Judge Kennamer, who on Nov. 17 denied a petition for a temporary injunction to keep the electors from voting the States' Rights ticket, to which they are pledged, lost no time yesterday in throwing the case out of his court.

The brief—30 minute—hearing was on a motion by the electors' atorneys for dismissal of the case on 24 grounds.

No Jurisdiction

In dismissing the suit Judge Kennamer held that he had no jurisdiction in the matter, the same ruling he gave when he denied a temporary injunction.

The judge's action yesterday left four pleas in the original suit unanswered. They were requests for: A permanent injunction to keep the electors from voting for anyone other than Truman; a mandatory injunction commanding the electors to vote for Truman, and a declaration of the rights of the plaintiff (Folsom) and the electors.

Only one new bit of evidence was presented at the hearing yesterday, and that was in the form of an amendment to the motion for dismissal.

Up to Congress

Frank J. Mizell, Jr., Montgomery, an attorney for the electors, said the court had no jurisdiction over the case because Congress, according to federal law, is the proper place for deciding contested electoral votes.

Accepting the new evidence, the judge commented:

"I don't want to foreclose argument on the case, but I have given considerable thought to the matter and have made up my mind pretty definitely."

He then read a decree that he had already prepared that dismissed the suit.

Jack Crenshaw, attorney for the governor, tried to get the judge to issue separate findings on the question of venue, but the request was denied.

The defendants had asked the suit be dropped because the court had jurisdiction over only two of the 11.

Other than the grounds that the court had no jurisdiction over the case, the electors' attorneys asked that it be dismissed because it was filed prematurely and because "plaintiff seeks to fraudulently invoke the jurisdiction of this court and abuse its process."

Ruling Refused

And in refusing to hear the case further, Judge Kennamer also refused to rule on a 1945 legislative act that said the state's electors must vote for the nominee of the national party. That act had previously been called unconstitutional in an advisory opinion by the Alabama Supreme Court.

Conditions in the court room yesterday were not at all similar to those on Nov. 17, when spectators crowded the room, along with all the electors and the attorneys for both sides.

Yesterday there were no spectators and only a few of the many lawyers for both sides. And only three of the electors, Rep. Norman W. Harris, Gessner T. McCorvey and Ben Bloodworth were present.

Spurned Folsom Switched Stand, Electors Assert

Alabama's 11 presidential electors told the Supreme Court yesterday it would be "unheard of" to require them to vote for a man "denounced" as President Truman was by Gov. James E. Folsom.

The electors are pledged to vote for Gov. Strom Thurmond, the States' Rights candidate. Folsom is seeking an injunction barring them from voting for anyone but Mr. Truman.

"The electors, answering a separate suit brought by three Alabama voters seeking similar action, said:

tion to support Truman as the Democratic Party presidential nominee. The Alabama elector nominees, nominated on anti-Truman pledges, since have pledged themselves to vote for States' Rights Candidates Thurmond and Wright.

Grounds on which Gov. Folsom will seek the high court mandamus writ are that the position the Alabama elector nominees have taken is in violation of the civil rights provisions of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution.

It was pointed out that Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black has charge of the Fifth Judicial (Federal Court) Circuit, which includes Alabama, and that Gov. Folsom's petition for a mandamus order would go to Black.

IT WILL BE RECALLED that Justice Black wrote the opinion in the recent Texas decision which placed the name of Lyndon Johnson back on the general election ballot as the Democratic nominee for U. S. Senate. Coke Stevenson, who had been nosed out by Johnson by an 87-vote margin of more than 1,000,000 votes cast, had obtained a Federal Court injunction order to keep Johnson's name off the ballot. Since Justice Black's decision, Stevenson, former Texas governor, has joined forces there with the Republican Party.

Besides State Sen. Langan, who has spearheaded Truman forces in Alabama before Gov. Folsom tok up the fight for the president, the governor's party included Griffith; O. H. Finney, Folsom's private secretary; Cliff Stiles, Redmont Hotel manager and member of the governor's military staff; Pitt Tyson Maner, Montgomery, and Rep.-Nominate Carl Elliott, Jasper attorney, who did not plan to return to Alabama with the group.

Alabama Highway Director Ward McFarland, who had planned to confer with U. S. highway officials here, was unable to make the trip.

Folsom Protest Mass Meeting Set For Today

He Will Broadcast Report Of Events At 12:45; Session To Start At 11

Plans for Governor Folsom's "protest" meeting over absence of Truman electors from the general election ballot in Alabama were completed at a cabinet meeting here yesterday.

The mass meeting is to get underway at 11 a.m., today in the House of Representatives chamber.

At 12:45 p.m., Folsom is scheduled to make a 15-minute statewide radio broadcast over approximately 30 stations to report on the proceedings.

According to plans announced by O. H. Finney, Jr., Folsom's executive secretary, the governor will preside at the start of the meeting. A nominating committee will then be appointed to name permanent officers for the group.

Finney said the permanent chairman will then designate various committees to prepare resolutions and take care of other business on which the group may want to act.

Marks Beginning

"This meeting marks the beginning, not the end, of our fight to get Alabama back in the Democratic column," Folsom said, following the cabinet meeting late yesterday.

"Tuesday's general election won't be the end of it by a long shot," he added.

Folsom issued a proclamation calling the meeting after the Democratic elector nominees made public a statement saying "neither the governor nor the courts are going to force us to vote for Truman."

"That's where I draw the line," the governor explained in announcing the proclamation would be issued. "When a person says he won't abide by a decision of the Supreme Court of the land, that's where my patience ends."

To Seek Means

He has promised to file a court suit to compel the electors to support Truman under a 1945 act binding them to vote for the nominee of the national convention of the party by which they were elected.

One of the purposes of the mass meeting, the governor said, is to provide means for carrying the issue to the Supreme Court of the United States, if necessary.

The State Supreme Court in an advisory opinion has declared the law unconstitutional. This ruling has no legal effect, however, and could be reversed if a suit is filed to test the validity of the act.

In his executive order Folsom said he was calling the mass meeting to give citizens a chance to voice objections "to the high-handed action taken by a small minority group" to purge Truman from the ballot in Alabama.

"This small group," he said, "has attempted to deny our people the right to express themselves for or against the President of the United States.

Public Censure

"I further desire to emphasize the importance of not only attending this meeting, but also of expressing yourselves on the idea of public censure of the action of a small group who have tried to make it impossible for our people to express themselves as they see fit in the Nov. 2 election."

Folsom announced several weeks ago that he was supporting Truman, the man he campaigned against when he was a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, and would take the stump in his behalf.

He delivered speeches Saturday at Gadsden and Huntsville where he again affirmed his intention of taking legal steps to see that the Democratic electors cast their ballots for President Truman.

Thurmond Praises Alabama's Electors

MOBILE, ALA., Dec. 7—(AP)—The people of Alabama must surely be proud of the firm stand taken by the state's presidential electors "despite extreme pressure," Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina said today.

The States' Rights candidate made the statement in a telegram after the U. S. Supreme Court refused to order the Thurmond-pledged electors to vote for President Truman.

"It is deeply gratifying to me that the Supreme Court of the United States has vindicated the determination of Alabama's presidential electors to vote the States' Rights Democratic Ticket," he said.

State Party Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, to whom the message was addressed, had sent congratulations to Thurmond on the court action.

Calif. Assembly Faces Opposition

Atlanta Daily World

LOS ANGELES—(ANP)—Not since his first sweep into office under the New Deal and Townsend Plan when he was barely out of college has California's only Negro assemblyman, Augustus Hawkins, faced the competition he will meet in the coming election.

Atlanta, Ga.

In his fight to retain his 62nd District seat, the veteran legislator will meet the states outstanding young colored businessman, Foster E. Driver, who filed last week to run on the Republican and Democratic tickets. Sun 3-28-48

Many dissatisfied voters in this melting pot district of many nationalities and races look to Driver as the man who can improve their conditions. A pharmacist and operator of the Driver Brothers Pharmacy, one of the few Negro-owned drug stores successfully meeting the competition of chain stores, is seeking public office for the first time. Sun. 3-28-48

A graduate of the University of Southern California, Driver is a member of a family famous for its religious and business activities on the local scene. Two of his brothers, Louis and Edward, are ministers, and a third brother, Mason, heads the chain of Drivers Brothers Cleaning plants.

WM. B. RUMFORD CANDIDATE FOR STATE ASSEMBLY

The California Voice

Oakland, Calif.

Fri.

Mr. W. B. Rumford, prominent business man and civic leader was selected as the candidate for the Assembly for the 17th District, by a Citizens' Committee, on Thursday night of last week. Rev. J. H. Dorn presided. The meeting and the result of the meeting proved creditable to both sponsors and the prospective candidates. Others who were in the running up to the historic making meeting were Mrs. Frances Albrier, prominent club woman; Atty. John C. Henderson, prominent civic and fraternal leader; James E. Jones, editor and publisher of the Herald.

4-2-48

All aspirants agreed to abide by the selection of the Citizens' Committee, which they did. Consequently Mr. Rumford is the only Race candidate for the Assembly. Needless to say, the entire race should give him their support. Besides being the only Race candidate for said Assembly District, he a representative of whom you can be proud. All of the aspirants were well qualified, but now that Mr. W. B. (Byron) Rumford is the candidate, lets elect him. And don't forget that Claude Allen is a candidate for the Board of Supervisors. Mr. Allen is also entitled to your votes.

The California Voice

Oakland, Calif.

Fri. 4-2-48

Reelected For Fifth Term In Legislature

Amsterdam News

New York, N.Y.

LOS ANGELES (NPB)—The California primary election held Tuesday, June 1, was uneventful throughout the state, except in the largely proportioned 14th Congressional District, here in Los Angeles City. The incumbent, Rep Helen Gahagan Douglas, was a target for a dozen candidates, attempts to halt her renomination on the cross-filed Republican ticket. Sat. 6-19-48

W. Wallace Braden, leading GOP candidate to capture the nomination of his party and thus become Rep. Douglas's opponent, in the November runoff election, appears to have lost his party's nomination to his incumbent Democrat foe by a very small margin. If such be the case, the bourbon leader, would be declared elected at the primaries.

But, Republican leaders not being satisfied that all was on the up and up in the hotly contested portion of the district comprising the 62nd assembly district, have suggested fraud in voting tabulating. Braden has insisted on a recount of the ballots. 6-19-48

August H. Hawkins was reelected to the state assembly from the 62nd district for the fifth consecutive term by virtue of having captured a majority in the Republican, Independent Progressive and his own Democratic party at the primaries. Hawkins found no trouble in setting back his two Negro opponents, Foster E. Driver and Leon M. Giles. The contest was spiritless.

In the 63rd assembly district race, Leon H. Washington Jr., publisher of the Loe Angeles Sentinel, making the maiden race for a Negro in that district turned in a magnificent performance to finish second in a field of eight on both party tickets. Washington running to oust the veteran legislator Dills, was the only Negro in the race.

Some Who Signed Can't Vote, He Can't Run

Younge Is Ruled Out of June Election, Petition Not Right

PORTSMOUTH—C. Thomas Younge, colored Independent candidate for City Council for Harrison Ward subject to the general municipal election June 8, was notified late Thursday afternoon that his petition of qualification did not contain the names of the necessary 50 quolified voters.

This means that, unless Mr. Younge can prove his list to be proper, he will be automatically disqualified as a candidate for the office in June. This would leave the field wide open for George L. Grimes, incumbent, who is the Democratic nominee for the council seat.

The list of petitioners for Mr. Younge's candidacy was examined by the special election commission headed by W. F. Bennett and was ruled to be lacking in the proper number of signatures of citizens who are actually qualified to vote.

Mr. Younge's petition ha had the correct number (50) of signatures. The fact that all of those who signed are not actually qualified to vote was the reason for disqualification, it was stated.

Mr. Younge indicated that he would carefully check his list of pwtitioners to find out if he had grounds to protest.

The prospective candidate was notified by registered mail late Thursday afternoon that his petition was not prope ly signed, it was stated by W. Hodges Baker, clerk of the Hastings Court.

Richmond Candidate Withdraws Offers Support To Another

RICHMOND, VA.—(NNPA) Lynwood E. Smith, one of the three colored cadidates for City Council withdrew from the race last Wednesday and urged his frineds to throw support to Oliver W. Hill, one of the other colored candidates.

The third colored candidate is Samuel Kelley.

Mr. Smith's withdrawal left 24 persons seeking the nine seats on the new City Council, to be elected June 8. Ten of them have qualified by filing the necessary petitions in Hustings Court.

In withdrawal Mr. Smith said:

"I the interest of unity and solidarity, I have successfully prevailed upon the Citizen's League, at whose instance I made myself available as a candidae for City Council, to permit me to withdraw."

"It is imminently imperative that at least one qualified Negro should be elected to the new Council. My observations have firmly convinced me that the present state of affairs would result in the disastrous split of the Negro vote and necessarily in the defeat of all candidates. This must not happen.

"My supporters have promised me that they will actively campaign for Mr. Oliver W. Hill and will otherwise make themselves available to his direction. He shall have my vigorous support."

Both Mr. Hill and Mr Smith are lawyers, Mr. Hill was a candidate for the House of Delegates last year and was defeated by only 190 votes for a place in the local delegation.

Lawyer Candidate for Council Seat in Petersburg, Va.

PETERSBURG, Va. — Raymond J. Valentine, attorney, and a graduate of Virginia State College and Howard University, will be a candidate in the Democratic councilmanic primary on April 6. He is the first colored candidate for public office here in recent years, and first to file under the new City Manager form of government.

There are 1300 eligible colored voters and 3,700 whites. Mr. Valentine will try to win one of three seats for which three white candidates are also aspiring.

Richmond Candidate Withdraws To Another

Richmond Candidate May Win

RICHMOND, Va. — (ANP) — Oliver W. Hill, popular young Negro attorney, is conceded a good chance of winning a seat on the nine-member new City council in the forthcoming election. In addition to getting almost the solid support of Negro voters, it is believed that he will get a good many white votes.

Mr. Hill almost won election to the Virginia House of Delegates a year ago. He is a capable lawyer, being associated with counsel in several Virginia school equality suits as a representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The NAACP, Richmond Civic council, Elks, Teachers' organization and other groups favor Mr. Hill's election.

His Hat Is In The Ring A Second Time

Dr. B. A. Coles, well-known dentist of Charlottesville, Va., has announced his candidacy for the Charlottesville City Council subject to the Democratic primary April 6. Dr. Coles was an unsuccessful candidate for the council two years ago.

Dr. B. A. Coles,

Again Candidate For Council Post

Special to Journal and Guide

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va.—Dr. B. A. Coles, a local dentist, this week announced his candidacy for a post on the Charlottesville City Council subject to election in the Democratic primary April 6. Dr. Coles was previously a candidate in the local councilmanic election in the March 5, 1946 primary.

The action marks the second time in the history of Charlottesville that a Negro has sought office in a Democratic election. Dr. Coles first broke the precedent in his 1946 campaign.

The candidate is a well-known dentist, and has practiced in the city for twenty-five years. He received his public school training in the schools of Charlottesville and his college education at Howard University Washington, D. C.

Dr. Coles is active in church civic and fraternal circles and is a member of the Elks, Odd Fellows, Blue Lodge Shriners, and Alpha Phi Alpha.

He is also a thirty-second degree Mason, deacon of the First Baptist church, member of the Virginia citizens Political Action Committee, and past president of the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colores People.

Donors To Truman Campaign Reported To Clerk of House

Journal & Guide Norfolk, Va. 9-18-48

WASHINGTON, D. C. —(NNPA)—The report of the National Citizens Committee for the Reelection of President Harry S. Truman, filed with the Clerk of the House of Representatives last Tuesday, showed that the organization operated in the black in the 22-day period from August 9 to August 31. Sat. 10-2-48

The report, signed by John H. Sengstacke, Chicago publisher and treasurer of the organization, showed contributions totaling $4,-249, ranging in amounts from $1 to $1,000, and expenditures totaling $1,245.09.

Organized August 9, last, and headed by Representative William L. Dawson of Chicago, the group received the following contributions:

August 12—Frank M. Summers, East St. Louis, Illinois, $25; Bryant A. Hammon, Chicago, $100; Charles D. Murray, Chicago, $20; Mrs. Sweet Pea Henderson, Burlington, Illinois, $2; Mrs. Emma Ray Johnson, Chicago, $5; Sherman Hibbitt, New York City, $1,000.

August 13—William L. Dawson, Chicago, $1,000; Dr. Channing H. Tobias, New York City, $100; Joseph LaCour, New York City, $25; Hexton Harden, New York City, $10; Dollie Lowther, New York City, $5.

August 14—Arkansas Negro Democratic Association, J. M. Robinson, North Little Rock, $200.

August 16—C. Mott Shavers, New York City, $100.

August 17—Herman E. Moore, Chicago, judge of the United States District Court for the Virgin Islands, $200.

August 19—Emory B. Smith, Washington $25.

August 20—John H. Sengstacke, Chicago, $800; Mrs. Julia Twyne Willis, Charlottesville, Virginia, $1; Mrs. Martha E. Pyror, New York City, $1; Mrs. M. Ricketts, Philadelphia, $1; Travis Jackson, Dallas, Texas, $2; W. D. Drummond, Bonita Springs, Florida, $2; Turner Carnley, Palmetto, Florida, $1; Mrs. Lula Gibson, Ashburn, Georgia, $1; Henry Zanders, Akron, Ohio, $1.

August 21—Radio and Song Scout Publishers, Mobile, Alabama, $5; H. L. Kennedy, St. Louis, $1.

August 24—G. H. Hooker, Los Angeles, $5; Albert Williams, Los Angeles, $5; George Hollis, Helena, Arkansas, $1; Horace D. Milan, $10.

August 25—Sidney Jackson, West Monroe, Louisiana, $1; Mrs. Alico McKinney, Waterloo, Arkansas, $1; the Rev. John Eliot Allen, East Chicago, Indiana, $5; Raymond Pace Alexander, Philadelphia, $50; Vallie L. Robinson, St. Louis, $2; John Clark, Chicago, $5; Robert Clarke, Branchville, Virginia, $1; Monroe Brewton, Spartanburg, South Carolina, $5 Sat. 10-2-48

August 27—W. I. H. Black, Lake Wales, Florida, $2; Chandler Johnson, Seattle, Washington, $2; Raymond W. Botts. Baltimore, $2.

August 30—Dennis Smith, Minneapolis, $5; Mrs. Earnestine Y. defourneau, Waggaman, Louisiana, $5; Anonymous, Kansas City, Missouri, $1; Mrs. Marie D. Harvey, Adlai Stevenson Chapter, Women's Democratic Community Club, Chicago; $117; Mrs. Mildred Casey, Chicago, $25; Charles H. Skyles, Chicago, $25; Mrs. Georgia Jones Ellis, Chicago, $100; the Rev. L. H. Ford, Chicago, $100; U. S. Poston, Brooklyn, $20; Mrs. C. T. Hill, Rahway, New Jersey, $11; Joseph M. Kelskay, Pittsburgh, $5.

Expenditures were as follows: Amsterdam News, advertising, $500; Allied Graphic Arts, New York City, printing, $259.29; Blackstone Studios, Inc., New York City, pictures, $239.70; petty cash, $50; postage, $100; Miss Kathryn O. Wallace, Brooklyn, salary, August 23, $55; Miss Kathryn O. Wallace, salary, August 30, $41.10.

Virginia Negroes Organize to Help Truman Campaign

Wash. D.C. 9-183-48

Richmond, Va., Sept. 12 (AP).—Virginia Negroes created a Statewide organizaton here today to turn out the Negro vote for President Truman November 2. They said a major objective in establishing the committee was to attempt to fill the breach created by the defecion of the States' Rights Democrats from the regular Democratic Party. N.C. 9-13-48

Raymond Pace Alexander, Philadelphia attorney, addressed a mass meeting of the organization at Ebenezer Baptist Church. He said that if Negroes do not support the President now, "no white man in high political or Government position will feel that he can risk his fortunes" in the future on such issues, "even when a question of morals is uppermost."

Walden Accepts Draft To Back Truman's Reelection

Atlanta Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(SNS)—Attorney Austin T. Walden, Negro Democratic leader in Georgia and prominent Atlanta attorney, was invited to become a member of the Citizens Committee for the re-election of President Truman. The invation to join the Truman's forces was extended and made public here Friday by Congressman William L. Dawson, Representative of the First Illinois District.

Attorney Walden is President of the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic clubs of Georgia and has been a practicing lawyer in Atlanta over a quarter of a century. He is also a member of the National Legal staff of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people. Sat.-7-25-48

"The rights of full citizenship are within your grasp, within your within your grasp, writes Congressman Dawson, and mine. The final battle is on. President Truman leads the fight. The Democratic Convention fired the opening gun, and the election in Novmber will be th climax."

WON'T TURN BACK

Mr. Dawson said that he has every reason to know that President Truman will not turn back and will continue to go forward until the civil rights of every citizen in every phas of American life is assured.

"President Truman," he continued "must be re-elected. No man can be our friend and be against the President. He has lost many supporters because he dared to take a stand for full, first class citizenship and equal opportunities. We must take our stand by his side and match deed for deed, dollar for dollar and vote for vote and then some more," declared Congressman Dawson.

Gen. 7-25-48

I am asking you to join with us as a National Citizens Committee for the re-election of President Truman to work for, vote for, and help finance the campaign among us," the invitation inquired.

In Atlanta late Saturday afternoon, Attorney Walden made public his acceptance to work for the re-election of Mr. Truman.

Pledges Mississippi Voters to Support Truman

Percy Green, Editor and Publisher of the Jackson Advocate pledges to Congressman William L. Dawson, Chairman of the National Citizens Committee for the Reelection of President Truman that the qualified Negro electorate of Mississippi will stand solidly behind President Truman in the coming November election.

Locals form citizens committee to re-elect President Truman

Los Angeles became the 19th "key city" in the U. S. today to form a Negro Citizens' Committee for the re-election of Harry Truman.

Calling the organizational meeting, which was held Tuesday at Independent church, were: the pastor of Independent, the Rev. Clayton D. Russell, the Rev. Jonathan L. Caston, Mrs. Fay E. Allen, William Pollard, Mrs. Noreen Forney, and Ted Gray.

Truman's campaign now has the pledged support of 20 Negro newspapers, the National Citizens Committee said today. Listed among the newspapers was the Chicago Defender, the Atlanta Daily World, the St. Louis Argus, and the Louisiana Weekly.

NEGROES BESOUGHT TO BACK PRESIDENT

Ewing, Appointee of Truman, Declares Those Voting for Others 'Betray' the Race

By JOHN N. POPHAM

RICHMOND, Va., Sept. 9—A flat warning that any Negro who votes for a candidate other than President Truman in the national election this year is "betraying his race" was made tonight by Oscar R. Ewing, Federal Security Administrator, an appointee of Mr. Truman.

In an address before 300 delegates of the National Urban League, which comprises about 125,000 of the most influential interracial leaders and workers in the country, Mr. Ewing declared that "every Negro that loves his race should be fighting for the reelection of President Truman."

It was the strongest open bid for the Negro vote that has been made in the current political campaign by a member of the National Administration. The speech linked President Truman in ideal and action with Franklin D. Roosevelt and Abraham Lincoln. In closing, Mr. Ewing declared, "Never has any President fought so courageously for the Negro as President Truman and he has fearlessly risked his political life to do so."

Mr. Ewing twice emphasized that President Truman had put his political career in jeopardy. Early in the speech he referred to the controversial civil rights program and remarked:

"Everyone knows that when President Truman sponsored that document he took his political life in his hands."

Mr. Ewing declared that his purpose was "to underscore the need of rallying every possible support to President Truman." Hhe reminded his audience that in the urban centers of the north the Negro vote "can have a crucial effect on the coming election" and he added that "in certain large states it may well be able to swing the election."

Mr. Ewing also adopted the "era of fear" theme of President Truman's Labor Day address by declaring that a victory for the Republicans would make "a shambles" of social security and "will wipe out every vestige of social and economic progress which the American Negro has made during the past decade and a half."

Congress Is Denounced

He scathingly denounced the Eightieth Congress as saboteurs of social security and declared that if Thomas E. Dewey were elected to the Presidency he would be "wholly ineffectual" because "the reactionary leadership" in Congress "will continue to destroy every possible law that benefits plain people, white and Negro alike," in order to pile up more profits for the masters of the Republican party."

It was the first time in the thirty-eight year history of the National Urban League, which has a policy of eschewing politics, that an invited speaker has used the organization as a political sounding board for a candidate for any elective office. There were immediate reports of widespread indignation among the delegates present.

The occasion for the talk was the annual conference of the league at Virginia Union University. It is the first time the conference has been held in a southern city.

When apprised during the afternoon of Mr. Ewing's planned speech, many of the delegates expressed "regret" and one remarked that in his opinion Mr. Ewing was "carrying coals to Newcastle in the worst possible vehicle."

Delegates Are Upset

Many of the delegates said they believed President Truman's stand on the civil rights issue had won him the following of a considerable portion of the league's members. They said Mr. Ewing's talk would have a "distressing" effect on league members.

League officials said they were "astonished" at the strong political nature of the talk.

Mr. Ewing told the conference that as Federal Security Administrator he had learned that the life expectancy of a Negro was ten years less than that of a white person because of the gross disparity in the standard of living.

"And then I realized once more," he said, "the magnificence of Franklin Roosevelt's and Harry Truman's conception of equality of opportunity for all men, of their fights against privilege and their determination to wipe out all discriminations that work so cruelly againnst the Negro."

He said that President Truman had declined to "soft-pedal" his approach to the controversial civil rights proposals to satisfy the southern wing of the Democratic party and that Mr. Truman "said what he meant and meant what he said."

Mr. Ewing said that the Republican party has "always posed as friends of the colored people" and then asked, "But since the Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln, will anyone in this audience tell me a single thing that the Republican party in power ever did for the American Negro?"

"No," he continued. "So long as Negroes could cast their ballots for Republican candidates in the northern states in crucial elections, that was all that mattered."

Contributions to Democratic National Campaign Fund

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — The report of the National Citizens Committee for the Re-election of President Harry S. Truman, filed with the Clerk of the House of Representatives, last Tuesday, showed that the organization operated in the black in the 22-day period from Aug. 9 to Aug. 31.

The report, signed by John H. Sengstacke, Chicago publisher and treasurer of the organization, showed contributions totaling $4,549, ranging in amounts from $1 to $1000, and expenditures totaling $1245.09.

The group was organized Aug. 9 and is headed by Rep. William L. Dawson of Chicago. Donors of $25 or more are listed below.

Frank M. Summers, East St. Louis, Illinois, $25; Bryant A. Hammon, Chicago, $100; Sherman Hibbitt, New York City, $1000.; William L. Dawson, Chicago, $1000; Dr. Channing H. Tobias, New York City, $100; Joseph LaCour, New York City, $25.

Arkansas Negro Democratic Association, J. M. Robinson, North Little Rock, $200; C. Mott Shavers, New York City, $100; Herman E. Moore, Chicago, judge of the United States District Court for the Virgin Islands, $200; Emory B. Smith, Washington $25; John H. Sengstacke, Chicago, $800;

Raymond Pace Alexander, Philadelphia, $50; Adlai Stevenson Chapter, Women's Democratic Community Club, Chicago, $117; Mrs. Mildred Casey, Chicago, $25;

Charles H. Skyles, Chicago, $25; Mrs. Georgia Jones Ellis, Chicago $100; the Rev. L. H. Ford, Chicago, $100.

Expenditures were as follows: Amsterdam News, advertising, $500; Allied Graphic Arts, New York City, printing, $259.29; Blackstone Studios, Inc., New York City, pictures, $239.70; petty cash, $50; postage, $100; Miss Kathryn O. Wallace, Brooklyn, salary, August 23, $55; Miss Katryny O. Wallace, salary, August 30, $41.10.

Dr. J. Robinson Gives $1,000 To Truman Fund

NEW YORK—Assurance that 50,000 Arkansas Negroes will cast their votes this November for President Truman was given this week by Dr. J. M. Robinson head of the Arkansas Negro Democratic Association, who underscored his declaration with a contribution of $1,000 to the National Citizens Committee for Re-Election of President Truman.

In conference with Mrs. Anna Hedgeman, executive director, in committee headquarters at the Biltmore hotel here, Dr. Robinson reported plans for an aggressive state-wide campaign for the President. He predicted that all of Arkansas' nine electoral votes will be cast for Truman.

Saying that additional funds will be forthcoming from his state, Dr. Robinson turned over a check for $200 from his organization with an affiliated membership of 30,000 voters.

These two Arkansas checks for a total of $1,200 followed close on receipt of another for $100 from the Hon. C. Mott Shavers, leader of New York City's 14th Assembly District, who is spearheading the Truman campaign.

Referring to the growing strength of the Negro vote in Arkansas, Dr. Robinson said it has

creased from 5,000 in 1944 to the present 44,000 qualified voters. He disclosed that a party drive for the payment of the poll tax which is still required in the state will increase this number to 50,000 by November.

A resident of Little Rock for 47 years, Dr. Robinson said that the Negro is "fast becoming an integral part of the election machinery" in the state. He pointed to the heavy Negro vote in the August 10 state primary in support of his assertion.

Nixon is president of the Alabama chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

IT WAS a great day for Sherman Hibbitt, Harlem's unofficial Mayor, when he was received at the White House by President Truman last Friday morning. Here he is shown chatting with the President in the beautiful rose Garden of the White House. Sherman, who pledged the President his support, is the first Negro who has contributed $1,000 toward the Truman-Barkley campaign. He is owner of a chain of Bar-B-Q restaurants in New York City, and is a native of Glasgow, Ky.

Dawson Requests Solid Truman Vote

Says President Faces Political Crucifixion

BOSTON — Speaking before a mixed audience of 4,000 at Civil Rights Day observance at William E. Carter playground, Illinois Congressman William L. Dawson said that "President Truman . . . is facing political crucifixion because he has the courage to make the Constitution of the United States a living document."

Asserting that the colored race is at the "crossroads of political freedom," Dawson asked voters to vote solidly and "give Harry Truman every electoral vote he lost in the South and more."

The congressman accused GOP Gov Thomas E. Dewey of "fooling the colored people" for years. He said that Henry Wallace, the Progressive Party candidate, is admittedly after protest votes, adding that "this is not the time for protest ballots."

Attacks Congress

He also criticized the 80th Congress, warning that "re-election of a similar group of Republican congressmen and senators will surely bring about a depression comparable to that of 1929 and 1931.

Mayor Curley, Congressman McCormack and State Senator Chester Dolan also spoke at the meeting.

Montgomery Negroes Give To Demo Campaign

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 7—(AP)—Montgomery Negroes have set a goal of $2,000 for a contribution to President Truman's campaign funds.

E. D. Nixon, district chairman of the Progressive Democratic Council, said the group already has raised more than $800 and expects to reach the $2,000 figure by Oct. 25.

"Montgomery Negros are joining the white people in desiring to vote for the presidential candidate of their choice," Nixon said in a statement. "We prefer civil rights rather than the soup line of States' Rights."

TOBIAS LISTS 10 REASONS WHY HE SUPPORTS TRUMAN'S RE-ELECTION

Says President Did More to Dramatize Issue Of Civil Rights Than Any in Country's History

NEW YORK — (ANP) — Dr. Channing H. Tobias, director of the Phelps-Stokes fund, is solidly behind the campaign of President Truman to return to the chief executive post in the White House, and to support his belief that Mr. Truman is the right man, he issued a statement here Thursday entitled "Ten Reasons Why I Shall Vote For Harry S. Truman."

Reviewing the record of all the chief executives in the nation's history, Dr. Tobias declared that President Truman "has done more to dramatize the issue of civil rights than any president that ever lived."

Speaking of the period following the emancipation proclamation, issued 85 years ago, he said, "Negroes have been waiting for a President of the United States to put the prestige and power of his high office behind the struggle for a single standard of citizenship for all people regardless of race, creed, color or national origin."

Mr. Truman has done this without apology or hedging; and I happen to know that he has done it, not because of any special love for Negroes or any other groups concerned, but because he believes it to be right and because he is convinced that America cannot exercise the leadership among the nations for which it is otherwise qualified while it continues to recognize and practice a double standard of citizenship."

He pointed out that when Mr. Truman was a senator, he "distinguished himself for his unfaltering support of progressive legislation." As President, Truman had the "courage to defy custom and establish precedent" by appointing a Negro to the federal judgeship and another to the governorship of the Virgin islands.

Most important of the Truman acts, represented by four related reasons, was his action in forming the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Dr. Tobias said that the start of this committee began with an audience granted six persons who were protesting the lynching of 2 men and 2 women in Walton County, Ga., in September, 1946. As a result of this hearing, Dr. Tobias, stated, Mr. Truman appointed a committee to "make a thorough study of the rights of American citizens," on Dec. 5, 1946.

When, after 10 months of work, the committee submitted its report, the President accepted it by saying "I have already read the report and want you to know that you have done exactly what I hoped you would do."

The aftermath of the report came when the President asked congress to pass legislation making it possible to put into effect the principal recommendations of the report.

"In so doing, he provoked the most violent storm of abuse and condemnation ever visited upon a President of the United States. Although this attack came from reactionary elements of his own party. there has been no support for his program from the opposition party which has the controlling hand in congress."

He also said that Truman held his ground "against pressures and threats unparalleled in the political history of our country," and cited him for the executive orders banning discrimination in the armed forces and civilian government services.

Negroes Step Up Tempo For Truman's Election

NEW YORK — (ANS) — Backed by Citizens Committees formed in eighteen key cities throughout the country and with the pledged support of twenty Negro newspaper editors, the National Citizens Committee this week stepped up the tempo of its drive to reelect President Truman.

Southern Negro office holders among them the recently seated Councilman, Oliver Hill of Richman, Va., and Rev. Kenneth Williams, Winston-Salem, N. C. Alderman, whose elections to municipal office, broke century-old precedents in the South, are taking active leadership in the reelection drive.

Mrs. Anna Arnold Hedgeman, Executive Director of the National Committee, completed this week a swing through the South to spur committee organization and plan state-wide participation in the national Committee's program for supporting Mr. Truman's reelection this week. Newspapers, labor unions and funds-raising events are being set for themselves high goals-both with votes and funds-in motion a plan for \$10,000 fund-raising dinner. The first meeting.

Chairman W. W. Weatherspool of the Citizens Committee set a plan to unite the state's 150,000 Negro voters behind Mr. Truman and his committee have pledged \$100,000 each Conway, S. C. farmer and his 65-from their farm income.

Chairman Arthur B. Mr. H. B. Sharon, 93-year-old giance to the Democratic Party and to the President.

s pledged \$50,000.

s, Tenn., has set a goal Chairman John R. Ar- year-old wife contributed $5.00 each and his committee have

he slogan "A dollar a Truman and Civil Rights."

Orleans, Chairman Clarnaws, of the Louisiana Citi mittee, has launched a und-raising drive with n \$1,000 reported at the ing.

n W. Weatherspool of a Citizens Committee set a plan to unite the state's o voters behind Mr. Truman and his committee have pledged \$100,000 each Ware, who was brutally beaten after his vote in the South Carolina Democratic primary election on August 10 gave $25.00 and declared unconditionally his alle-

CALIFORNIA CAMPAIGN New Republic

When the Independent Progressive Party of California entered a candidate for Congress against Helen Gahagan Douglas, its spokesmen explained they were doing so only to protect the IPP position on the complicated California ballot. They had invited Mrs. Douglas to cross-file on the IPP ticket, and she had refused. They were forced, therefore, they say, to enter their own man in order to prevent a reactionary Republican from "stealing" the IPP nomination for himself by cross-filing on their ticket.

There was strong opposition within the IPP to making even a token fight against an outstanding liberal leader. Answering criticism from progressives all over the country, IPP leaders offered private assurances that they did not really intend to oppose Mrs. Douglas in the general election. After she had won her own primary, they would throw their full support behind her, they said.

Ex-College Prexy Files for Congress

OAKLAND, Calif.—Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, professor of Christian Ethics at the Pacific School of Religion, last week announced his candidacy for Congressman from the Seventh District. He is a former president of Talladega College, Talladega, Ala.

Sen. Connally Says He Plans To Support Truman Ticket

Senator Connally (D., Tex.), an opponent of President Truman's civil rights program, announced yesterday he will support the Democratic ticket of Mr. Truman and Senator Barkley (D., Ky.).

"I have consistently supported the nominees of the Democratic Party in the past and I shall not deviate from that record now," Connally said in a statement.

Representative Bland (D., Va.) also said yesterday he will continue to give his support to the Democratic Party and vote for President Truman.

The dean of the Virginia delegation said in a statement he agrees with Senator A. Willis Robertson (D., Va.) who has announced he intends to vote the Democratic ticket.

Robertson said in his statement, however, that he has "no idea of accepting the interpretation of our Democratic platform with respect to a civil rights program which Mr. Truman has placed on it."

Bland's statement also said:

"I shall not change my allegiance now and especially when I believe that the policies, program and Administration of the Democratic Party when considered in the light of the party's record throughout its history and its consistent support of the public good rather than any peculiar specials interests has meant and means more for the welfare of all citizens of this Nation and the ultimate permanent peace of the world than any other platform, program or policy now before the American people."

In Roanoke, Delegate Ernest Robertson of Salem, candidate for House of Representatives in a three-way Sixth District primary, said he would not vote for the Truman-Barkley slate and would abstain from voting for any presidenttial candidates.

Robertson thius became the first Democratic congressional candidate to say openly he would not vote for Mr. Truman. Of others who have taken a stand all have said they would support the national party slate.

In a speech transcribed and broadcast over radio stations in Alexandria, Charlottesville, Harrisonburg, Fredericksburg, Lynchburg and Crewe tonight, Hart said he still was waiting for Senator Robertson to answer his challenge to a debate on Federal aid for education. Hart is an advocate of such aid.

Connally told reporters that in his opinion "Texas Democrats will support the national ticket in November" despite their opposition to Mr. Truman at the Philadelphia convention.

Texas was one of the Southern States which voted for Senator Russell (D., Ga.) for the top place on the ticket in protest against the President's civil rights recommendations.

The Texan said Mr. Truman and Senator Barkley "are the duly and legally selected nominees of the Democratic National Convention" and he added:

"The Texas delegation participated in that convention. It was instructed by the Democratic State convention at Brownwood to support the nominees of that convention."

Connally said, however:

"I am opposed to the so-called civil rights program advocated by President Truman and indorsed in the Democratic platform."

The Broader Loyalty

What attitude shall be taken by Thurmond-Wright Southerners toward congressional races throughout the nation? That is a question of concern to all Southern Democrats. For some, including members of Congress, it is more than an academic question.

There is little likelihood that the States' Rights nominees can be elected. There is some possibility that enough Democrats can be elected to Congress to give the party either a majority or so near it as to make it, with the aid of independent Republicans, a decisive power.

* * *

It is not inconsistent, therefore, that Sen. John Sparkman, of Alabama, and Sen. Olin Johnston, of South Carolina, should be supporting the Thurmond-Wright ticket in the South and at the same time be willing to campaign in behalf of Democratic candidates for Congress in other parts of the country. They are experienced in the ways of the federal government. They know the importance of Congress in protecting the South against undesired legislation. They are looking to the bulwarks farther away while not neglecting those at home.

This willingness of Southern senators to vote against President Truman while supporting congressional candidates of the national Democratic Party is another reminder of the anomalous position in which many Southern Democrats find themselves. They

Congressional (General)

oppose Truman, but they do not want the national Democratic Party, of which Truman is the head and the presidential candidate, to lose the fight for Congress.

* * *

Of course there are some Thurmond-Wright supporters who go farther than merely opposing Truman. They oppose the national Democratic leadership. Some Southerners are even willing to wreck the national Democratic Party. Although they know there is no chance for them to gain control of Congress, they would prefer to turn it over to the Republicans than to give any support to any candidate who finds favor with Truman. That is a short-sighted view. Certainly it is not held by Alabama's own John Sparkman, who is steadily growing in national stature.

3d Party Picks Georgia Negro For Senate

Wallace Bid Launched At Macon Convention

Macon, Ga., May 8 (AP)—Larkin Marshall, portly Negro publisher of The Macon World, was nominated for the United States Senate today as Henry Wallace's third-party movement was launched in Georgia.

Marshall, the first Negro candidate for major office in Georgia since Reconstruction days, told the cheering Wallace-for-President State Convention:

"I will do my best to go in the byways and the highways and spread the doctrine that must be preached if we are to save democracy."

Police Look On Quietly.

About 300 delegates and observers, mostly Negroes, assembled in Macon's 4,000-seat City Auditorium for the convention. Macon police looked on quietly, interpreting the meeting as private and not affected by a ban against nonsegregated meetings in the City Auditorium.

The delegates formed the People's Progressive Party of Georgia, and adopted a platform which hammered against racial segregation.

Senator Glen Taylor (D., Idaho), candidate for Vice-President on Wallace's ticket, addressed the convention. He said, "The growth of the South will really begin when the new party takes over."

Committee to Decide On Two.

The convention decided by a close vote to refer to its executive committee two nominations for Governor. They are the Rev. Joseph Rabun, ousted pastor of the late Eugene Talmadge's church at McRae, Ga., and James L. Barfoot, 34-year-old professor of education at the University of Georgia.

Rabun, already an announced candidate for the Democratic nomination for Governor, asked for more time to consider his obligation to "other people."

To enter new parties in Georgia, candidates must present a petition to the Secretary of State signed by approximately 55,000 qualified voters.

GEORGIA GROUP RUNS A NEGRO FOR SENATE

MACON, Ga., May 8 (AP)—Larkin Marshall, Negro publisher of the Macon World, was nominated for the United States Senate today as the Henry A. Wallace third party movement was launched in Georgia. He was the first Negro candidate for major office in Georgia since Reconstruction days.

About 300 delegates and observers, mostly Negroes, assembled in Macon's 4,000-seat city auditorium for the convention. Macon police looked on, interpreting the meeting as private and not affected by a ban against non-segregated meetings in the city auditorium. The delegates formed the People's Progressive Party of Georgia.

Senator Glen Taylor of Idaho, vice presidential candidate on the Wallace ticket, addressing the convention, said "the growth of the South will really begin when the new party takes over."

Negro Set As Russell Opponent

By JIM FURNISS

MACON, May 8—Backers of Henry Wallace for President Saturday nominated L. Marshall, Negro publisher of The Macon World, as candidate for Senator to run against Richard B. Russell on the newly-formed Progressive Peoples Party of Georgia platform.

Sen. Russell has been one of the most outspoken opponents of President Truman's Civil Rights program, all points of which were adopted at the Wallace Party's founding convention here.

Marshall's nomination came after a heated debate provoked by Democratic Party Gubernatorial Candidate Joe Rabun's inability to decide if he would accept the new party's nomination for Governor.

Rabun was given a second chance at the nomination by a close vote of 63 to 51 in a fast shuffle of parliamentary procedure which gave the Party's Executive Committee the authority to name either Rabun or University of Georgia Professor James L. Barfoot as the nominee within 10 days.

Rabun, a few moments before the floor discussion, told reporters he still had not made up his mind.

Floor speakers among the predominately Negro gathering of 300 delegates and visitors, however, forced Rabun, who was present as an observer, to take the floor and state his position.

Rabun received a large hand from the audience. He said if he were forced to accept or decline Saturday, he would have to refuse the nomination because of previous commitments.

Rabun later declined to name those to whom these commitments had been made. It is known, however, that the outspoken minister has had the quiet support of a majority of CIO Union leaders in Georgia.

The Convention adopted a platform which put great stress on Civil Rights and equal opportunity for all. It suggested complete outlawing of the Ku Klux Klan, the Black Raiders, and "all other similar hoodlum groups that carry on their cowardly work under cover of masks."

It also opposed any form of draft or Universal Military Training, and recommended nationalization of aircraft and armament industries and an end to "atom bomb diplomacy."

C. H. Foreman, head of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and Treasurer of the National Wallace-for-President Party, introduced Sen. Glenn Taylor, of Idaho, Wallace Vice Presidential running mate. Foreman asked delegates to help release the memory of the late Eugene Talmadge's "Grass Roots" convention in the City Auditorium 10 years ago at which Gerald L. K. Smith spoke.

Sen. Taylor delivered a three-quarter-hour rambling address in which he spoke out against tendencies in this country to create a police state.

The only apparent friction in the audience came from three Macon women who described themselves as voters wanting to hear for themselves what the new party planned. They were Mrs. Ada S. Howard, 75; Mrs. E. J. Blalock, 71, and Mrs. C. H. Plummer, 67, all widowed sisters.

When Negro delegates began filling seats around them, two of the ladies argued with some of the white delegates that it was against God's word to intermingle with Negroes and sat down by themselves at the side of the auditorium.

Visitors included C. H. Foreman, head of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and Treasurer of the National Wallace-for-President Committee; Mary Eaton Voss, Washington author, and Palmer Weber, observer from CIO-PAC.

Republican Launch Drive To Unseat Rep. Dawson

Informer and
Texas Freeman

CHICAGO —(ANP)— Edgar G. Brown, who launched his campaign for the Republican nomination for congress in the 1st congressional district of Illinois last week, spoke at DuSable high school here Sunday.

San Antonio, Texas

"You may be sure I will do more than draw my breath and my salary when I get to Washington," said Brown who is noted for dipping into political affairs from one end of the country to the other and who secured countless signatures to the "oust Bilbo petition which he presented to congress before the Mississippian was banned.

Sat 2-7-48

Brown is running against former State Sen. William E. King who, he says, has run for the Republicans a dozen times and never won since he left the state senate years ago. The redistricting of the first congressional district gives it 300,000 Negro votes with practically no white vote balance of power so that the representative this year can be said to truly represent Negro sentiment.

Sat 2-7-48

Democratic incumbent Congressman William L. Dawson, has no opponent for renomination in the primaries which will be held April 13.

Progressive Party Nominates 1st Ind. Negro Candidate For Congress

Lawyer Ransom To Make Race For Seat TO Be Vacated By Congressman Ludlow

In line with the interracial policies of the Wallace movement throughout the nation, history was again made last week, as Willard B. Ransom became the first Indiana Negro to be nominated as a candidate for Congress. State NAACP president, and a former Captain in the U. S. Army during World War II, Ransom was nominated from the 11th District by the Marion County Committee of the newly-formed Progressive Party of Indiana.

The Henry A. Wallace followers cast "white supremacy" to the winds, and Indianapolis Hotel Antlers rocked with cheering committeemen as Ransom received the nomination without opposition.

A native of Indianapolis, Atty. Ransom is a graduate of Talladega College and Harvard University Law School. He is [illegible] manager, assistant counsel, and a member of the board of directors of the Madame C. J. Walker Manufacturing Co. A married man, he is an active member of the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, and numerous civic activities.

Other race members to receive such nominations in the new party include Larkin Marshall, editor of the Macon, Georgia World, nominee for U. S. Senator; and Magistrate Joseph P. Rainey of Philadelphia, who is one of several Negro Congressional candidates named.

By A. W. Berry

Macon, Ga., May 9.—Larkin Marshall, a Negro, publisher of the *Macon World*, was named candidate for the U. S. Senate, at the meeting here today that formed the People's Progressive Party of Georgia. The meeting, which organized a party to support Henry Wallace for President, was held in the Municipal Auditorium, and was not segregated. The vote of the 325 Negro and white delegates in the Municipal auditorium to nominate Marshall was unanimous. Marshall is the first Negro to be nominated in Georgia for high office since Reconstruction days note. He is state vice chairman of the new party. He will run against Sen. Richard H. Russell.

A total of 55,000 signatures are required on nominating petitions to place the new party on the ballot in Georgia.

ADOPT PROGRAM

The delegates adopted a party program calling for an end to jim-crow; a foreign policy based on a strong UN, destruction of atom bombs and peaceful relations with the Soviet Union. The program also called for anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and FEPC. The program also called for legislation, and urged "outlawing the Ku Klux Klan and similar hoodlum groups that carry on their cowardly work under masks."

Abolition of the un-American Committee, repeal of the President's loyalty order and elimination of "secret police activities of the FBI" were also urged.

The party platform adopted includes a farm program to make "every farmer an owner," and a comprehensive labor plan which calls for a $1 an hour minimum wage law, repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and outlawing use of police in labor disputes.

TAYLOR HEARD

Sen. Glen H. Taylor, third party vice presidential candidate, attended the convention with his wife and two sons.

Taylor told the gathering that reports say 250 atom bombs "would make the world uninhabitable," and warned that "we are fighting now for our lives. I don't suppose our brass hats," he declared, "if they started a war, would stop after dropping 249 atom bombs."

After approving the nominations committee's recommendations for officers and electors, a floor fight developed when delegates opposed a proposal to refer candiates' nominations to the state executive board of the party. The committee had proposed waiting to allow Rev. Joseph A. Rabun , its first choice for Governor, 10 days to make up his mind. The matter was resolved when the delegates voted 63-51 to give the executive committee power to choose as gubernatorial candidate either Rev. Rabun or Prof. James S. Barfoot of the University of Georgia.

Rabun, who was present as a visitor, told the delegates that "moral obligations" and "previous commitments" would force him to say "No" if pressed to accept the nomination at once. He would require, he said, at least 10 days to confer with others. He is a Democratic gubernatorial candidate.

Other officers elected were Rev. C. T. Pratt, Dalton, co-chairman; William W. Stafford, Atlanta, secretary; Mrs. Herman Rich, Atlanta, treasurer and Don West, Douglasville, executive vice chairman.

The session was limited to delegates, electors observers and the press, as local laws banned an unsegregated public mass meeting.

REP. BROOKS QUITS RACE FOR SENATE

Congressman Withdraws in Formal Statement

(The Associated Press)

Shreveport, La., July 17.—Rep. Overton Brooks withdrew tonight from the race for the US Senate seat of the late Sen. John H. Overton.

He announced he will seek re-election as representative from the Fourth Congressional District.

Brooks said he is backing neither of the present candidates in the Senate race—Russell Long, son of Sen. Huey P. Long and nephew of Gov. Earl K. Long, nor Judge Robert F. Kennon, who unsuccessfully opposed Gov. Long in the gubernatorial race earlier this year.

No Commitments

"I have made no commitments to anyone other than to myself—and that's for Congress," he told newsmen.

Judge Kennon had predicted earlier in the day in a campaign speech at Lutcher, La., that Brooks would withdraw. He said the action "leaves the race between one administration and one anti-administration candidate."

Tonight, in a statement given newsmen, Kennon claimed Brooks' withdrawal greatly strengthens his candidacy.

Russell Long, at Jonesville, La., said he had "no comment."

"Our state and national officers will not all come from 'one man's family,'" he said.

KENNON ATTACKS CIVIL RIGHTS PLAN

Says State Pays Lip Service to Sovereignty

The Louisiana state administration has given only lip service to the states' rights movement, Judge Robert F. Kennon, candidate for the United States Senate, said Monday night at St. Joseph's Hall.

Judge Kennon spoke at a joint meeting of workers of the three city organizations supporting him in his race against Russell B. Long, nephew of Governor Earl K. Long. They are the original Kennon organization, the Crescent City Democratic Association and the John J. Grosch organization.

At the rally, J. David McNeill, Kennon city campaign manager, announced that the first of a series of Jefferson parish Kennon rallies will be held at the Gretna courthouse at 8:15 p. m. today. The rally will follow the 7 p. m. statewide broadcast of Judge Kennon.

The Minden jurist said at Monday night's meeting that the state administration "did nothing in the recent session of the Legislature to change the law so that people could vote for any candidate for president who offered himself.

"Therefore, some 2000 people must lose their franchise in the coming primary so they can get their candidates on the ballot for president.

'Invasion' Claimed

"I'm against the civil rights program of President Harry S. Truman. What they call civil rights is in effect an invasion of genuine democracy and states' rights. They endeavor to send a group of federal agents down here to harass us. Half of the program is unconstitutional and the other half undesirable."

The "real issue" of the senatorial campaign is to pick a man who is best able to represent Louisiana and the nation as a whole in making the important decisions that must be made in Washington in the next year, he said.

He added: "The international situation is grave. The consent of the Senate is required in treaties that are made with other nations. After World War I, inexperienced people in the Senate blocked the peace treaty and the League of Nations, and many say World War II would not have happened if the Senate had then been composed of tolerant and well-informed men.

'Seasoning' Needed

"The Senate next year will make decision affecting those boys of yours that are being drafted. I feel humble in asking you to send me to the Senate. In a way, I feel I don't have the seasoning for the job.

"But as for my young opponent, I wonder if he is as well qualified as I am. He always goes around with Mr. (Lieut. Gov. William J.) Dodd, who seems to be making his campaign for him. I suppose Mr. Dodd will go to Washington with him and hold his hand in the Senate.

"Any man who approaches the U. S. Senate as a partisan politician or without mature experience is rushing into something he is not liable to do justice to."

The state administration, Kennon said, has passed laws against New Orleans, taken $4,000,000 in revenue away from the city, changed the city government and increased the burdens of the poor man.

"The new sales tax is a bad tax for the working man," he said. "In Louisiana we should have local self-government, respect for constitutional rights, and we shouldn't have laws changed by our government without letting the people be heard."

Grosch is Sorry

Criminal Sheriff John J. Grosch, who supported Governor Long in the gubernatorial race, said: "I was the first in the city to come out publicly for Long, for which I am very sorry.

"I supported Long and I think I did him a little good. But I hope I now will be able to help rid this state of the Longs forever. To think of having a man sitting in Baton Rouge who will admit as your governor that he makes false promises.

"When Long came out for governor, there were four candidates in the field. I didn't think Judge Kennon had enough support to win. However, as it turned out if just little me had supported Kennon, he'd be our governor today.

"But there's one thing in politics—when you support candidates you don't marry them. You can leave them anytime you want to."

If the Kennon forces lose this election, "it means Longism for the next 16 or 20 years," said C. C. Bel, acting CCDA chairman. "Our city has been sold down the river. Our elected representatives have sold us out. It's time to redeem the city, and the only way to do it is with Kennon," he said.

The present state administration is in office because of its commitments, which the people had confidence it would keep, McNeill said. "This has been as bad a breach of public trust as it could be," he said.

"We have now seen a complete reversal of public opinion from one end of the state to the other. Now I think it is overwhelmingly against Long."

McNeill introduced the candidates on the Kennon ticket for offices voted on in the city.

Other speakers included Wilburn V. Lunn, Kennon state campaign manager; Ben B. Mathews, campaign manager for the First and Second Congressional Districts; Mrs. H. R. Burt, CCDA citywide leader; A. Brown Moore, speakers' committee chairman; E. T. Harvey, meeting chairman, and the Rev. M. J. LeSage, pastor of St. Joseph's church, who delivered the invocation.

LONG CHALLENGED ON STATES' RIGHTS

Kennon Asks Governor to Make Stand Known

BY ALEX VUILLEMOT
(Special to The Times-Picayune)

Mamou, La., Aug. 19.—Governor Earl K. Long was called on to take a definite stand on President Truman's civil rights program in a speech here today by senatorial candidate Robert F. Gennon.

Kennon, who is opposing the governor's nephew, Russell B. Long, for the United States Senate in the August 31 Democratic primary election, said that Governor Long "has been conspicuous by his absence in the fight by the Southern delegation to Washington against the president's program on civil rights."

Addressing a sidewalk gathering, Kennon referred to the campaign now being conducted by Governor Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi, the Dixiecrat nominee for vice-president, and Governor Ben Laney of Arkansas, against the president's program which he described "obnoxious to the South."

Says Long Silent

"These men and others have become the leaders in a fight to protect the custom and tradition of the South," Kennon said. "But the governor of Louisiana has not been heard from regarding his stand on this preposition, and it is about time that he publicly declares himself."

"The governor remained silent on the question of civil rights, and yet he is seeking to have his nephew—a young man—sent to Washington to represent Louisiana, a Southern state. Russell Long's uncle, Governor Long, is in league with President Truman on the president's civil rights issue and other issues."

Hits High Taxes

Switching his attack from Governor Long's silence on the civil rights issue, Kennon criticized the state's high tax program, saying that state at this time is assessing enough taxes to provide pensions for persons 60 years old and not providing any benefits for those of this age.

The candidate repeated his pledge to support any proposed legislation before Congress to provide an old-age pension for persons the age of 60.

"A man of matured and judicious temperament is needed in Congress at this time because of the issues before the nation, particularly the draft and civil rights," Kennon said.

"You need that kind of mature and experienced man in Washington in order that the people will not have forced upon them another war based on the same issues as the War Between the States.

'Poor Business'

"And it would be poor business to send a young man to Washington whose uncle is in sympathy with President Truman's stand on civil rights."

It was charged by Kennon that the state administration is using the services of state highway patrolmen in putting placards of Russell Long on posts and trees along the highways in Louisiana. He also claimed that state stationery is being used by Russell Long in his campaign literature.

In conclusion the candidate said that the office of United States Senator is "too high a position to be sought through a campaign of mud-slinging," and that he would refrain from these tactics.

Today, Kennon is scheduled to address meetings at Glenmora, 9 a. m.; Forest Hill, 10 a. m.; Boyce, 11:30 a. m.; Colfax, 2 p. m.; Dry Prong, 3 p. m.; Pollack, 4 p. m.; Urania, 5 p. m.; Tullos, 6 p. m.; and Jena, 7:30 p. m.

BROOKS DEMANDS STAND ON 'RIGHTS'

Says Delegates Must Fight 'Anti-Southern Nominee

(The Associated Press)

Shreveport, La., July 9.—Rep. Overton Brooks fired the opening gun of his campaign for election to the United States Senate today in a statement in which he declared that Louisiana's delegation to the Democratic national convention should oppose any presidential nominee who "does not give proper assurance in advance of his intention to fight anti-Southern legislation."

In effect, Brooks declared himself opposed to the president's civil rights program and said that "I call upon Governor Earl K. Long to require immediately that all prospective nominees set forth plainly their position on anti-Southern legislation."

"The people of Louisiana," he said, "realize the extreme importance of obtaining a nominee for the convention who is friendly to the interests of Louisiana and the South."

"I am not a member of the delegation which will leave shortly for Philadelphia to attend the convention," Brooks said. "This delegation was named under the direction of Governor Earl K. Long. He is in control of the situation. The people of Louisiana are watching to see what action is taken to guarantee this state will no longer be the 'whipping boy' of the Northern politicians and to guarantee further that we have our rightful place among the states which compose our nation."

Wallace Backers Select Negro

BALTIMORE, Feb. 23—(AP)—Supporters of Henry A. Wallace for president decided last night to select a Negro as their candidate for Congress from the Fourth Maryland District.

The district contains a large segment of Baltimore's Negro population.

The decision was made at a Fourth District caucus of the Progressive Party of Maryland. The actual candidate was not selected.

To get on the ballot, the eventual nominee must present a petition signed by 1,500 voters of his district.

MARYLAND NEGRO IN HOUSE?

BALTIMORE (NR correspondent)

Now that Baltimore Democrats have turned down liberal Leo H. McCormick and nominated Representative George H. Fallon for reëlection, the New Party believes it has a fighting chance to elect the first Negro to Congress in the state's history. He is Dr. John E. T. Camper, 54-year-old neighborhood practitioner, co-chairman of the Progressive Party, running in the Fourth (Baltimore city) District.

Though Fallon has the support of a well-disciplined party organization in a predominantly Democratic area, the district contains half of the city's Negro voters and the largest concentration of Jewish voters. The latter may choose Camper because he has been a strong supporter of Palestine partition. In addition, the district contains most of the city's liberals and intellectuals, who will hold against Fallon his vote in support of the Rees loyalty bill, and large numbers of workers who will remember his votes to override Truman's vetoes of the Taft-Hartley bill and the one to exclude newspaper vendors from social-security benefits. Moreover, 45 percent of the voters are women, who, the New Party leaders believe, will be more responsive to pledges of peace and lower prices.

The Negro vote, however, is the basis of the New Party hope for Camper. Of the 115,000 registered voters last year, 25,000 were Negroes and 29,000 Republicans. Most of the Negroes are registered Republicans. The Progressives are trying to increase the Negro vote by an aggressive registration drive, on the assumption that all these votes will be Camper's. They hope to win by taking the liberal vote away from the Democrats, the Negro vote from the Republicans, and the labor vote from both.

N. J. Negro Runs On 3d Party Ticket

New York, N.Y.

34a: 1777

EAST ORANGE

Dr. Ulysses Campbell, 35, Negro dentist, was selected Tuesday night as the third-party candidate for Congress from the 11th District here. Selection was made by the Wallace - for - President Provisional Committee, which consists of the New Jersey Independent Citizens' League and representatives of municipal wards of the district. The incumbent Congressman is Frank L. Sundstrom, East Orange Republican.

Thurs. 3-25-48

Baldwin Refutes Times on Slates

Daily Worker

C. B. Baldwin, campaign manager for Henry Wallace, yesterday criticized as inaccurate a report in the **New York Times** that the third party would nominate Negro Congressional candidates in "specified, predetermined districts."

He also termed the **Times** story "wholly unauthorized." N.Y.T.

"While there is no doubt that in some districts third party candidates will be Negroes," said Baldwin," as there are many outstanding Negroes who decerve a seat in Congress, selection of candidates is entirely up to our state organizations. 3-4-48

"The **Times** has one additional inaccuracy. The statement that Congressman Powell and Congressman Douglas will be endorsed if they oppose the Marshall Plan is wholly untrue. While the Marshall Plan is an issue of very great importance, a vote on it or any single issue will not by itself determine the position taken by our state committees. Truth

"In any case, the decision will be made on a democratic basis by the people in each district in which the candidates reside."

Congressional Designee

HAROLD C. BURTON

Harold C. Burton, GOP District Leader Of 12th A. D. To Enter Congressional Race Against Powell

The Age
New York
Dist. 7-16-48

Harold C. Burton, leader of the 12th A. D. South, was designated for the Republican nomination for Representative in the Twenty-Second Congressional District, it was announced Thursday by Secretary of State Thomas J. Curran, New York County chairman, following a conference with Mr. Burton in his office in the State Office building. Mr. Burton will campaign against Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Democrat, who is seeking reelection for the third term.

Mr. Burton has been a Republican district leader since 1937. He is president of the Crispus Attucks League, an organization of New York State Negro Republicans.

Mr. Burton was born in Dominica, Nov. 13, 1878, and educated in Dominica public schools and St. Mary's College in Trinidad. He has been a resident of New York City since 1903. He is a graduate of New York electrical school and was engaged in the electrical and plumbing contracting business from 1925 to 1941. 7-16-48

Magistrate Rainey Dismissed Following Tilt With The Police

PHILADELPHIA — (NNPA)— Magistrate Joseph H. Rainey, candidate for Congress on Henry A. Wallace's "new party" ticket was discharged after hearing on charges of disorderly conduct and resisting arrest.

The case was dismissed July 17 by Magistrate Hobson Reynolds at the 50th and Lancaster avenue station.

"This gentleman is a reputable citizen, a neighbor and a friend of mine," said Reynolds. "This is most unfortunate. The whole thing was uncalled for. He is discharged."

Rainey was arrested at the 39th street and Lancaster avenue station last Friday night. He had gone there to inquire about the driver of one of the party's sound trucks. He wound up in a cell after getting into a argument with House Sergeant Norman L. Youngblood.

TELLS OWN STORY

Although he was told it was unnecessary to say anything, Rainey insisted on repeating the story he had related after his arrest.

"I want my story told, and very much so," he said.

With a glance at Youngblood, he commented that he had nothing against the police in general, "but a few more like him will have to learn the meaning of democracy."

Rainey, who is president of the Philadelphia branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, accused Youngblood of "putting his hands on me."

After his release from a cell which he said he occupied for about twenty or thirty minutes Rainey said he was taken to the office of Station Captain Charles Baker.

The captain, he said, offered him a cigar, told him to make himself comfortable, and said that "this would never have happened if I had been here."

Youngblood said that Rainey was accompanied by three women and a photographer when he "barged" into the station some 15 minutes after the truck driver was dismissed.

OFFICERS TESTIMONY

"I don't know Rainey," Youngblood said, "I don't know him from Adam.

Rainey, according to Youngblood burst into his room although there was a no-admittance sign on the door, and kept demanding to know what had happened to "Johnson." Youngblood said that when he finally realized that Rainey was referring to the truck driver, he told him "we released him long ago."

"He then started to shout and get disorderly," Youngblood said. "I told him to leave the room or I would lock him up for disorderly conduct. He dared me. I grabbed his arm and he began to kick and squirm, knocking me against a partition. The photographer's flashers started going off.

Rainey said he went to the station after being told that the truck driver had been arrested. He said he intended to obtain his release on a copy of the charge. Youngblood's manner was "irritating" and he pretended not to know what Rainey was talking about, the magistrate said.

"He knew who I was," Rainey said. "He knows me as well as my own children do."

Rainey said that, after much probing, he determined that "Johnson" wasn't there. He said that Youngblood then ordered him to get out under threat of being arrested and locked up. "Not me," he replied.

"Then he grabbed me and started to wrestle me around," Rainey said. "I'm only a little fellow but I resented it. He called two other cops and the three wrestled me to the desk and slated me just like I was a bank robber who was about to escape."

LOCKED IN CELL

The other two policemen escorted him into the cell room and locked him in the cell, Rainey said. "When I walked in, there was another prisoner stretched out on the bench."

Rainey said that ater being freed by Captain Baker he was treated by his family physician for a cut on the hand and shock.

Youngblood said that he and Strange required the attention of a police surgeon. Youngblood said he had a bruised arm and got thumped on the back. He said Strange was hit in the groin.

The National Wallace for President Committee, in New York sent a telegram protesting the incident to Director of Public Safety James H. Malone.

Tour Resumed In Lancaster After Layoff

Maybank Joins In Angry Flay

LANCASTER, July 21—(AP)—Four of five United States senatorial candidates struck out orally here today against Federal District Judge J. Waties Waring's recent decision opening the state Democratic party to Negroes.

The campaigners for the Democratic nomination resumed their county-to-county tour after an almost two-weeks' layoff in appearances here this morning and at Winnsboro this afternoon.

Incumbent Burnet R. Maybank, of Charleston, United States Rep. W. J. Dorn, of Greenwood, Newberry Attorney Alan Johnstone and Dillon Lumberman Marcus A. Stone all spoke against the Charleston jurist's decision.

Farmer Candidate Bennett never mentioned Waring or the decision directly, but hit at Maybank when he said "I think the people of South Carolina are entitled to take possession of this office of United States senator which has been handed down in dynastic succession" from governor to governor.

(Both Untied States Senators, Maybank and Olin D. Johnston, are former governors.)

Johnstone made a blistering criticism of Waring, and of Maybank for, he said, "recommending his appointment."

Johnstone's Speech

Johnstone said, "at Charleston our liberties were presided over by a man who says he is a judge. I went there. I had a right to be there as a free South Carolinian. I tried to speak. That man who calls himself a judge ordered his bailiffs to put their hands on me and push me bodily through a wall of Negro flesh. Everyone there, including the Negroes, resented it."

The Waring order which "commands enrolment and voting by a man simply because he is black is unlawful," Johnstone declared, and added that Waring's "threat" and words were "offensive."

"His references to religion are wicked," the Newberry attorney said. "His courtroom friends were carpetbaggers from New York. His judicial conduct was tyranical and invites race suicide. He is a dead Democrat and his name should be stricken from the list of Democrats."

"I impeach J. Waties Waring... before the bar of public opinion... I invite him to defend himself as he can."

"The man who nominated him (Waring) is here," Johnstone said. "Let him speak."

He promised to continue his "miniature bill of indictment" in subsequent talks.

"We are under government by injunction, but it can't last," he predicted, "When people understand what has happened they will have the will to correct it. There is no jail in South Carolina strong enough to hold a free man who is right."

Mentions Convention

He called on Maybank to speak "and say how he stands in the face of government by injunction." He criticized Maybank for not going to the convention at Philadelphia "where other stalwart men stood and spoke for South Carolina," and said "perhaps Maybank did not want to offend Mr. Truman."

Maybank replied that he was "the first to fight for your rights against Judge Waring." He then showed newspaper clippings of a year ago in which he was quoted as criticising Waring's original order that culminated in his most recent decision.

"I think Judge Waring's order was deplorable," he emphasized, and said he did not go to Philadelphia and "neither did Dick Russell" (senator from Georgia.)

The proposed civil rights offered by the national Democratic party "are totally unconstitutional," Maybank assured his audience, and promised, "I'll be there in the senate next Monday to fight for the people of South Carolina.

"Russell and I knew it was cut and dried at Philadelphia, but it won't be cut and dried in the senate.

"We beat Senator Truman's civil rights issues" in the last session of Congress and "we are going to beat everyone of them this time."

Stone Is Heard

Stone said, "Were I the governor of South Carolina, I would tell that judge down in Charleston a few things. I would let him understand that South Carolina still had something to say as to her internal affairs and how these affairs ought to be conducted. . . . I would let Judge Waring know that he is not running the State of South Carolina, even though he may have a federal tag hanging from his coattails."

Dorn spoke of the "confusion" in the state party, and said the national Democratic party had been "destroyed."

He referred to Waring as "that man down there at Charleston whom I did not appoint."

"If I go to the senate I will never pay such a political debt," Dorn said in terming Waring's appointment one made in payment of a political obligation.

Bennett did not mention Waring, but accused Maybank of "not raising his voice in opposition to the farm bill, or the farm bankruptcy bill. The farmers of South Carolir were left in the lurch. Not a word was said in their defense. The farm bill reduces parity for the South, increases it for the North and East."

Otherwise, the candidates adhered to their talks made earlier this spring and summer.

Stone injected a new note when he called for postal deliveries of mail daily and Sundays without holiday exceptions.

Memphis Minister In Congress Race

The Courier
Pittsburgh Pa.

MEMPHIS, Tenn.,—The Rev. D. V. Kyle, pastor of Avery Chapel AME Church, is a candidate for Congress on the Progressive ticket, the first of his race to run for a congressional seat here in thirty-six years. He is a Wilberforce and Boston U graduate.

34a(1) 1948

Congressional (Virginia)

Senatorial Aspirant Arrested

RICHMOND, Va., July 23 (AP)—Howard H. Carwile, an independent candidate for the United States Senate, was arrested here last night on a charge of violating Virginia segregation laws. Police said they arrested him after receiving a complaint he was sitting in a section reserved for Negroes at a revival meeting sponsored by the Churches of Christ of Richmond.

34a·1) 1948

Sets Another Political Precedent

Mrs. Edith McAllister Alexander, associate director of the Mayor's Committee on Unity, is the first Negro woman to become a major party candidate for Presidential elector. New York's Democrats will be voting not for President Truman, but for Mrs. Alexander and 46 other candidates for elector from N. Y. State when the November Presidential elections are held.

TWO PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS IN FAMILY

(The Associated Press)

Oklahoma City, Aug. 17.—There are two presidential electors in the Murray family. William H. "Alfalfa Bill" Murray, former governor and president of Oklahoma's constitutional convention, was named an elector by the States' Rights Democrats Saturday. Johnston Murray, his son, Democratic chairman of Oklahoma county and secretary of the state land office, is a Democrat elector.

Electorial College

The Role Of Electors

The current political situation in the South has directed attention to the old question of the exact role played by electors in our election machinery. Are electors free agents, or are they mere automatons carrying out a clerical duty? May they vote as they please for president and vice president, or are they expected to carry out the wishes of members of their party as expressed through regular channels?

For the present, the question seems settled one way in Alabama. An advisory opinion of the Supreme Court says electors cannot be bound to support the nominees of their party, that they may act at their own discretion. This opinion practically holds unconstitutional Section 226, as amended, of Title 17 of the 1940 Code of Alabama which says that the electors "shall cast their ballots for the nominee of the national convention of the party by which they were elected." The fact that the Legislature saw fit to try to bind the electors shows a division of sentiment in the state regarding the freedom of electors.

There are states in which courts have not agreed with the position taken by the Alabama court. California, in 1939, enacted a law which provides that "The electors . . . shall vote for . . . the candidates of the political party which they represent." This statute was attacked in the courts, with a final decision which said, in part:

"They (the electors) have no duties to perform which involve the exercise of judgment in the slightest degree . . . their sole function is to perform a service which has come to be nothing more than clerical—to cast, certify and transmit a vote already predetermined. . . . They are in effect no more than messengers whose sole duty is to certify and transmit the election returns."

Which viewpoint is correct, that in Alabama, or that in California?

When the Constitution was adopted, voters at large were not thought competent to elect a president. The constitutional convention in Philadelphia therefore set up the system of electors, chosen by each state, free to vote their own preferences, away from the influence of Congress and from the voters. Of course, there were no party conventions or nominees in the early years of the republic.

Should presidents continue to be elected through representatives? Or should it be through a direct ballot by voters?

Once the voters were not held competent to choose their own senators. Now we choose our senators directly. The time is surely coming, if not here now, when voters can be trusted to pick also the president.

WISE MOVE

Gessner T. McCorvey and the other 10 presidential electors have done a wise thing in encouraging the state's Truman band in their effort to add Truman electors to the ballot.

As matters stand, it is physically impossible to vote for Truman in November. Few people desire to vote for Truman, but many feel — unreasonably but definitely — that they will be partially disfranchised if Truman is not on the ballot.

It is strictly a matter of law whether at this late date Truman electors can win a place on the ballot along with the Thurmond, Dewey and Wallace electors. It is not a matter of policy. Nevertheless, McCorvey and associate electors were well advised when McCorvey wrote the state's Truman leader, State Senator Joe Langan, of Mobile:

" . . . I wish to assure you that none of us will throw any stumbling blocks in the way of you or anyone else seeking to have a slate of Truman electors placed on the ballot . . . and we hope very much that you will succeed in your effort as we would like for you to realize when the votes are cast . . . just what little standing President Truman has among Alabama Democrats . . ."

In that the Alabama electors take the line of Gov. Fielding Wright, of Mississippi, who has likewise expressed the challenging hope that Truman electors would find a place on the ballot.

It is evident that Truman can't get a nickel's worth of votes in Alabama, but people do not take kindly to the notion of an abridged ballot. It would be unfortunate for McCorvey and other electors to be placed in the position of abridging the ballot. This they have now forestalled.

It's up to the attorney general or the courts.

South Carolina's Electoral Votes To Thurmond

The executive committee of the Democratic party of South Carolina, voting by mail, has done the expected and pledged the South Carolina Democratic electors, not yet selected, to the States Rights Democratic ticket of Thurmond and Wright.

The state Democratic convention instructed the electors not to vote for President Truman or any other Democratic candidate advocating any similar civil rights program.

It instructed the state's delegates to the national convention to support Governor J. Strom Thurmond for the presidential nomination so long as he had a chance to get the nomination, which he never had.

If the state's Democratic electors are not to vote for the Democratic candidate, as normal—and this is impossible under the state convention's instructions—the choice of the Thurmond-Wright ticket, the so-called States Rights Democratic ticket, was inevitable.

As a result the eight electoral college votes of South Carolina will be added to the electoral votes of Mississippi and Ala-

bama, already pledged to the Thurmond-Wright ticket, and Governor Thurmond will get at least 28 votes for the presidency in the electoral college, 28 votes cast for him in protest against the Democratic party and its candidate.

There may, of course, be a Truman ticket in the general election. The citizens' Democratic committee promised to put out a Truman ticket on which would be listed the regular Democratic party primary nominees. But this will be an absortive effort, should the so-it be made, an abortive effort like all the other extra tickets in the elections before the Hoovercratic ticket, for example. Truman himself has been his own worst enemy in the South and it is impossible for any mond represents the opinion of most South Carolinians on the civil rights bills and

blundering.

The voters of the state, of course, are entitled to a secret ballot in the general election. The General Assembly could enact a secret ballot law in less than a week—already a secret ballot bill has been passed by the House and is before the Senate—and it should be summoned by the Governor into special session for this purpose, the purpose of writing a secret ballot bill which would allow the voters of South Carolina in all general elections in secret to vote a split ticket if they so desire.

The vote in South Carolina would still be the same as it will be under the present primitive voting system. Governor Thurmond represents the opinion of most South Carolinians on the civil rights bills and

most of South Carolina's votes would go to him under any circumstances. But the enactment of a Australian ballot law might make it unnecessary hereafter to resort to the splinter party strategem in order to get South Carolina's protest recorded.

No Alabama Truman Electors

It seems definite now that there will be no Truman elector nominees on the November ballot in Alabama.

The elector nominees of the Democratic primary are, of course, pledged against the president. Gov. Folsom, in a statement declaring his support of Mr. Truman as the national Democratic nominee, did not say in so many words that he will not call a special session of the Legislature to provide for Truman nominees, but the plain implication was that he would not.

Time is very short now. The secretary of state's office says that printing of the ballots already has begun.

* * *

One major question that would have confronted a special session would have had to do with how Truman nominees would be listed. The anti-Truman primary nominees represent the state Democratic organization. Gov. Folsom holds that as the national Democratic candidate, Mr. Truman should be on the ballot as a Democrat. National party officials have indicated that any other listing would not be favored by them. Leaders of the States' Rights group in Alabama have said they would welcome placing of Truman nominees on the ballot—but not, of course, as representing the Democratic Party in the state. They are confident that the strength of their own ticket would be emphasized by the result. But the problem of listing has remained a barrier to legislative action that would be satisfactory all around.

* * *

Gov. Folsom says he hopes his straight Democratic vote will be counted for Mr. Truman—"by legal means, if necessary."

State Sen. Joseph Langan, also a Truman supporter, declares it is still planned to take court action to force the primary elector nominees to vote for Mr. Truman. Any such action presumably would be based on the contention that by custom and established procedure such primary nominees are under obligation to support the national candidates of the party they represent.

What effect a legal move of this kind would have on the November election, if any, cannot be foreseen, but it might bring a far-reaching interpretation of the functions of electors.

Gov. Folsom recalls that he himself originally was a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination against Mr. Truman. But he believes that Democrats should support the ticket chosen by the national convention and seek to resolve their differences within the party. It is a position with which many other Democrats agree, despite the obvious strength of Thurmond-Wright sentiment in the state.

It always will remain regrettable if, as seems certain, it turns out that the candidate of the national Democratic Party is not on the ballot in Alabama.

South Held Plotting Overthrow of Truman

WASHINGTON—(U.P.)—Radio Commentator Charles Parmer said he has learned that States' Right Democrats are planning a "sensational political maneuver" to deprive President Truman of the election if he refuses to bury his civil-rights program for the next four years.

Speaking over station WEAM, Arlington, Va., Parmer said that "a Southern statesman of outstanding integrity" (whom he did not name) told him about the plan "which, if carried through and if successful, might close the White House doors to Mr. Truman on Jan. 20, Inauguration Day."

* * *

HE SAID that Senators Byrd (D., Va.) and George (D., Ga.) have been chosen by the States' Righters to "spearhead a movement" to obtain "a most solemn pledge that the Administration will not again propose to Congress its civil-rights program."

If that pledge is not given, Parmer went on, the plan calls for enough Southern presidential electors to withhold their Electoral College votes from Mr. Truman to throw the election into the House of Representatives "where a real upset might happen."

Southern Democrats already hold enough Congressional balance of power in a coalition with Republicans to defeat important parts of the President's legislative program if they want.

Parmer went on to say that the 87 Southern Democratic electors, added to the 38 elected on the Thurmond-Wright ticket, would total 125 votes, "not enough to elect, but more than enough to throw the contest into the House."

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Electorial College

COOL TO ELLENDER PLAN FOR SWITCH

States' Righters Opposed to Giving Truman 10 Votes

Senator Allen J. Ellender's proposal that Louisiana's 10 electoral votes be cast for President Truman met with a cool reception from leaders of the States' Rights movement here Saturday.

Ellender said in Washington that "it would be the sensible thing to do." He urged that the Thurmond-Wright electoral votes be switched to the Truman-Barkley column as a step toward "healing the wounds."

He said such action would "make it a lot easier for us to work in Washington the next four years."

John U. Barr, chairman of the States' Rights faction in Louisiana, said he was opposed to Ellender's proposal. Henry C. "Happy" Sevier, chairman of the state Democratic central committee and a moving force in knocking Truman from the Democratic ballot sided with Barr.

W. H. "Little Eva" Talbot, national Democratic committeeman from Louisiana, said he, too, was "still fighting for the same principles for which I was fighting Monday."

He said Louisiana should not take any step alone but should take any action with Mississippi, Alabama and South Carolina, the other states that went for Thurmond and Wright.

Senator Ellender said there is no legal obstacle that would prevent the switch of Louisiana's electors.

Ellender said that in view of Truman's triumph, "It is time (for us) to take our medicine."

He said: "They don't need us any more. We must go to them.'

Senator-Elect Russell Long, in Washington house-hunting, declined Saturday to comment on Ellender's proposal.

He said: "I have never opposed President Truman or his general program, except, of course, the civil rights program and the effort to take the tidelands away from the state.

"I intend to keep fighting him on these two issues, which I feel were the issues which defeated him in Louisiana."

Long paid tribute to President Truman's victory, asserting: "It shows the people like a fighter and a man who sticks to the principles for which he stands."

NY Woman Given Post as Elector

Designated an Elector For Democratic Party

NEW YORK (NNPA) — Mrs. Edith Mc.A. Alexander, Harlem community leader and associate director of the Mayor's Committee on Unity, was designated, last Friday, a Presidential elector from the 22nd Congressional District.

J. Raymond Jones, city deputy commissioner of housing, who chose Mrs. Alexander, said that the selection of a colored woman by the Democratic Party for this honor was "possibly without precedent in the entire county."

A former director of the division of staff and community relations for the Department of Welfare, the new elector is a native of Yonkers, N.Y., and was an honor graduate of the Yonkers High School.

Business, Civic Leader

A student of business administration at the New York University, she was for 14 years a manager for the Philip Payton Company, a pioneer Harlem business. Mrs. Alexander is also secretary for the Harlem Children's Camp Fund and a board member of the Urban League.

Her husband, Clifford J. Alexander, is manager of the Riverton Houses. A son, Clifford Jr., is a pupil at the Fieldston School, Riverton.

Mrs. Edith M. Alexander

The New York Times

Mrs. Edith McAllister Alexander, Harlem Community leader and associate director of the Mayor's Committee on Unity, was designated yesterday a presidential elector from the Twenty-second Congressional District by J. Raymond Jones, city Deputy Commissioner of Housing, who said that the selection of a Negro woman by the Democratic party for this honor was "possibly without precedent in the entire country."

A former director of the division of staff and community relations for the Department of Welfare, she is a native of Yonkers, N. Y., and was an honor graduate of the Yonkers High School. A student of business administration at New York University, she was for fourteen years a manager for the Philip Payton Company, a pioneer Harlem business. Mrs. Alexander is also secretary for the Harlem Children's Camp Fund, and a board member of the Urban League.

Her husband, Clifford J., is manager of the Riverton Houses. A son, Clifford Jr., is a student at the Fieldston School, Riverton.

Electors And Minorities

Appeals to minorities are a conspicuous factor in American politics. Often candidates believe that their chances of election may depend on the support they can win from particular groups with special demands on government.

In the recent presidential campaign it was frequently charged that Mr. Truman's civil rights proposals and his policies respecting the Palestine problem were largely influenced by his desire to get the backing of voters particularly concerned with such issues.

If the present electoral system is changed to provide that electoral votes shall be cast in proportion to the popular balloting, appeals to minorities will figure less influentially in presidential campaigns of the future, it is being argued by advocates of such a change. Leslie Carpenter of the Washington Bureau of The News, reports that many Southerners in Congress are using this argument in support of the projected Lodge-Gossett amendment to revise the electoral system.

* * *

Mr. Dewey won New York by about 55,000 ballots but he will obtain all of that state's 47 electoral votes. Mr. Truman got a majority of only 7,000 in Ohio but he will receive all of that state's 25 votes. Such close decisions illustrate vividly the importance of group voting in the outcome of presidential elections and the pressure on candidates to make extraordinary efforts to gain the favor of particular groups.

Under the Lodge-Gossett amendment, the electoral votes of states would be divided in proportion to the proportions of the popular ballots received by the various candidates. If such a system were in effect now, Mr. Dewey would receive 21.8 electoral votes, Mr. Truman 21.3 and Mr. Wallace the rest in New York.

Under the present system Mr. Truman is expected to receive 302 electoral votes from the nation as a whole and Mr. Dewey 189. If the Lodge-Gossett plan were in effect, Mr. Truman would receive 261.2 votes; Mr. Dewey, 222.5; Mr. Thurmond, 36.8, and Mr. Wallace, 9.9.

* * *

The amendment proposal would not do away with electoral votes which are apportioned to the states according to the number of their senators and representatives in Congress. This apportionment gives the small states a stronger voice in such elections than they would have if popular votes alone determined the choice. These states would doubtless oppose election by popular vote alone. As three-fourths of the states must approve a constitutional amendment to make it effective, an amendment proposal to do away with the electors is regarded as not politically feasible. Many Americans besides those in the less populated states would doubtless challenge it. But the Lodge-Gossett amendment offers a plan preserving the relative strength of the states in the electoral college and doing away with serious weaknesses in the system.

The Elector Mix-Up

State Sen. Joseph N. Langan, of Mobile, call on the State Democratic Committee to leader of pro-Truman Democratic forces in work out a plan under which Truman elec- Alabama which are meeting in Birmingham tors would run under the Democratic today, announced before the session that emblem. But State Democratic Chairman McCorvey plans to get a slate of electors representing says he will not call a meeting of the this group on the presidential ballot in No- committee for that purpose, as suggested vember have been abandoned. Instead, court action is contemplated to force the Democratic elector nominees already chosen in the state primary and pledged against the president, to vote for him.

Sen. Langan does not believe it is feasible to get a Truman slate on the ballot without recognition by the national Democratic Party of his group as its agents. Such recognition has not been made.

The Mobile senator expressed the view that the meeting here today probably will

Mr. McCorvey said.

Exactly what Mr. Langan had in mind in this connection was not clear. When he meant that the committee should instruct the anti-Truman electors for Truman or whether he proposes that the committee nominate a new slate of Truman electors, as Mr. McCorvey seems to interpret the idea,

is not evident.

But in any case there appears no likelihood that the state committee will act along any such lines. Nor does it seem at all probable that court action to force the anti-Truman elector nominees to support the president will be effective.

* * *

Debate is widespread on the question of the functioning of electors. The Alabama Supreme Court, in an advisory opinion, held that electors are independent officials and may exercise their own judgment in casting their ballots. The News

But, on the other side, it is widely contended that electors are merely agents of the voters and should support the national party nominees. There is Supreme Court authority for this view, it is held. Sat.

Obviously there is need for clarification of this whole matter.

* * *

If national parties, under which our system of government operates are to be effective, integrated agencies, there must be unity among party electors. The will of the people can be expressed only through electors. If candidates for elector make known in advance for whom they stand, then the people have some guidance in their voting. But usually they have been guided by the party affiliation of elector candidates and the assumption that, if elected, they will support party nominees. Birmingham, Ala.

The situation is in need of clarification and rectification in Alabama and other states. The people should have ample opportunity to express their will. As matters now stand, Alabama Democrats who desire to vote for Mr. Truman are blocked. There seems to be general recognition of the undesirability of such a state of things. 2-28-48

Tuck's Undemocratic Proposal

Sat. 2-21

In these days of heated discussion, some things are being done by Democrats in the South which are not democratic. In the name of preservation of state's rights and in defense of the Southern way of doing things, some persons would have us turn our backs upon not only the Democratic Party but also upon principles and faiths all good Democrats should hold dear.

One such thing is embodied in the requests made of the Virginia Legislature by that state's Gov. Tuck. The Virginia executive asked for passage of a law which would forbid third party candidates from having their names on the ballots of that state. The law was aimed directly, it is reported, at Henry A. Wallace, but it would apply also to candidates for any minor party.

The protection of minorities should be one of the first concerns of a republic. It doesn't make any difference what minorities stand for, as long as they fall within the broad provisions of the law. They should not be discriminated against merely because they are minorities.

* * * 2-28-48

It is only by custom and practice and not by law that this country has what is called the two-party system. There is nothing sacred about the two-party system, no adequate reason why it should be enforced. There is every reason, however, to protect the right to form third, or fourth, or fifth parties.

Also, Democrats should remember that there have been occasions in this country when the Democratic Party was the third party in a state.

* * *

Neither can this paper hail with joy, as some have done, Gov. Tuck's recommendation that party leaders of the state be permitted to say for whom Virginia's electoral vote should go. Persons who acclaim this recommendation as the solution of the present dispute are not familiar with politics in Virginia.

The Democratic Party leadership in Virginia does not always accurately reflect sentiment in the state in national matters. This was clearly shown in the four Roosevelt presidential election years. In every instance, the Virginia delegation to the national convention was instructed to vote for some other candidate than Roosevelt. In at least one instance, it was instructed definitely not to vote for Roosevelt. But in every one of the four elections, Roosevelt was given a larger popular majority than any other Democratic candidate had ever been given in the state.

*2-*28-48

Virginia is controlled by the Byrd-Tuck Democratic machine. That machine permits popular votes on relatively few candidates. Delegates to the national Democratic convention and Democratic electors are not named in a popular primary as they are in Alabama. They are named in conventions.

In Virginia, to take the names of presidential candidates off the ballot, would mean that voters are denied this opportunity to express or indicate their choice for president. Birmingham

That, we submit, is not the way for the South to wage its proper and justified battle in behalf of state jurisdiction over questionable civil rights. News

The Virginia plan is not the road to a constructive settlement of the differences within the Democratic Party. It might be the road to the death of the party.

Truman Followers Seen Actuated By Civil Rights Controls Issues

By ELMO ROPER

At times these days one wonders how in the world the electorate can make up its mind either for whom or for what it is being asked to vote. The chief trouble is to figure out who is running against what.

Mr. Truman, for example, is not really running against Mr. Dewey, but instead has pitted himself against the Republican Congress. In fact, Mr. Truman the candidate is not Mr. Truman at all. He is a symbol of the liberal stand the Democratic party has taken on civil rights, price control and other issues. The strategy of the Democratic high command is to convince the people to vote for issues instead of for candidates.

Mr. Dewey, on the other hand, is running against something entirely different. He might well be described as running against Harry Truman the candidate and as running away from the Republican Congress.

In a way we are witnessing a chase: Dewey is chasing Truman and at the same time trying to ignore the Republican Congress. Truman is chasing the Republican Congress and pretending he doesn't see Dewey. Henry Wallace is running along behind saying that Truman and Dewey are really the same person—and what looks like a Truman-Dewey race is really only an optical illusion.

How the voters will arrive at a decision this November is almost as curious as the race itself. The latest presidential survey sheds some light on why various voters are for Dewey or for Truman.

WHY VOTERS PREFER DEWEY

He has been a good governor and district attorney.

People want a change in administration.

Don't like Truman as well as Dewey.

Dewey is a Republican.

He is more able.

He has more executive ability.

He is more aggressive.

He is more intelligent.

He is more straightforward.

He is a younger man.

Interestingly enough, Dewey supporters believe they are voting for a man, not an issue. Unless, of course, "being a Republican" or its being "time for a change" can be called issues. It's celar that, in the minds of those 46.3 per cent of the voters who prefer Dewey, they are going to cast their lot with "an able, aggressive, inelligent, straightforward, young" man . What Dewey will be "able, aggressive, intelligent or straightforward" about, they didnt' say.

The picture is equally interesting in regard to Truman.

WHY VOTERS PREFER TRUMAN

Now is not the time to change horses.

He is a Democrat.

He is for the working class, the common man.

He deserves a chance to continue.

He is a well-meaning man.

Don't like Dewey as well.

Fear another depression with the Republicans.

He has followed the Roosevelt tradition.

Like his civil rights program.

He'd do well if it weren't for uncooperative Congress.

By and large, those 31.5 per cent who say they want Truman are voting for an issue, not a man. They talk about their candidate in terms of civil rights, avoiding other depression, standing for the common man, the Roosevelt tradition. They do say their man is well-meaning and deserves a chance to continue, but their real intensity is aroused over the issues they think he stands for. How these stands would be carried out—if at all—they didn't say.

As of today, this seems to be a confusing kind of chase, with each candidate running against anything except his real opponent and what he stands for.

But if Dewey has the people be-

Georgia Picks Pro-Truman Electoral Slate

Step Ends Tide Of Talk; Door Open For Clear Choice Between Parties

ATLANTA — (AP) — Georgia Democrats Saturday named 15 elector-candidates tied stoutly to the banner of Harry S. Truman for President.

Action by the State Democratic Executive Committee ended months of talk about selecting states righters, supporters of a "favorite son," of electors with unknown loyalties.

Committee Chairman James S. Peters said each of the electors had promised to vote for President Truman if Democrats carry Georgia in the November general election.

The decision, reached in an executive session, was a paradox and a bit of pill for some committee members. The committee consists wholly of supporters of Governor-Nominate Herman Talmadge, who campaigned against Mr. Truman's civil rights program.

Outcome In Doubt

The door was opened for a clear-cut general election in Georgia between President Truman, State Righter Strom Thurmond, and Republican Thomas Dewey. The outcome was in doubt for the first time in years in this traditionally Democratic states.

States Rights Democrats already are preparing in Augusta for a statewide convention to select separate electors.

"Party loyalty" and the fear of reprisals if they bolted were cited by some committee members as an explanation of the selection of pro-Truman electors.

To keep the Talmadge faction as far from the Truman fold as possible, and still remain with the party, most of the electors were chosen from supporters of Gov. M. E. Thompson.

Thompson Saturday signed into law an election reform bill passed Friday by a special session of the legislature. The new measur

requires listing of Democratic electors under Mr. Truman's name.

Thompson criticized both the legislature and the committee for failing to bind electors strictly to party nominees.

Many observers said neither Truman, Dewey nor Thurmond could get a majority of votes in November. Then the legislature would have to pick presidential electors.

My native Georgia, our most seceding state, which, after having seceded from the Union in 1861, was about to secede from the Confederacy and be a country all by itself just before the war ended, is said to be planning something like that for the present. Democratic mixup. Georgia's electors are to be instructed for Senator Russell in this plan, even though the people of Georgia are obviously overwhelmingly for Thurmond. These electors would withhold their votes from Truman if it turns out that he needs them to win, but if he is so badly beaten that Georgia's vote wouldn't save him, then the electors would vote for him to retain what they would fondly believe to be their "Democratic Regularity."

Summary Of Presidential Ballots

Bryan Collier resigned as editor of "The Columbus Ledger to become a Republican propagndist. The following has some good information and that is why it is printed.—Ed.

By Bryan Collier

THOUGH at first it seemed likely that Truman electors would not appear on the ballots of several Southern States, it now seems assured that voters in every State below the Mason-Dixon line will have at least a four-way choice—with the possible exception of Alabama.

In Alabama, nothing but legislative action can put Truman electors on the ballot. Regular "Democrat" electors chosen in an early-summer primary were all pledged to vote against Truman in the Electoral College. So unless the legislature is called into special session to change the law (Editors: Watch developments on this,) the Presidential choice in Alabama will be limited to electors pledged, respectively, to Thomas E. Dewey, J. Strom Thurmond and Henry Wallace.

Truman electors got on three Southern ballots only through legislative action.

In Florida, Georgia and Louisiana, special sessions were called to change election laws and to make it possible for pro-Truman and pro-Thurmond "Democrats" to have separate slates of electors.

In Georgia, the new law requires electors for all candidates to swear that they are not communists and have never been communists, but even the Wallace electors took this oath, so the ballot will list Dewey, Thurmond and Wallace electors, separately from the "straight" Democrat ticket, which is headed by Senator Richard B. Russell instead of by Truman.

In Louisiana, the legislature permitted a separate slate of Truman electors, but specified that it must use some other symbol than the official Democrat rooster, which will be placed above the States' Rights electors. Truman electors, therefore, will be designated by a donkey in Louisiana.

Some Southern States notably Texas, where Socialist Norman Thomas will appear on the ballot, will list minor candidates in addition to the four majors.

Florida's new law specifically forbids any device for voting "straight," and voters in that state must perforce make individual choices in all races, national, state, local. The Georgia device of listing presidential electors for all parties separately from the straight Democrat ticket (in Georgia no other state of state and local officials is offered) also makes it mandatory for voters to choose a President separately from the State ticket.

Republicans in almost all Southern States are preparing sample marked ballots showing the voters, who have become habituated over generations to voting the Democratic label irrespective of men and issues, how to "split" the ticket if they so desire. Decision as to what extent this educational campaign shall be carried out is made in all cases by state Republican organizations.

THE FULL MENU

The size of the Truman meeting here yesterday underscores the folly of opposing the effort to slap Truman electors on the November ballot.

About 50 people showed up for the meeting called by State Senator Joe Langan of Mobile. That is only a few more than met

It is plain that Truman would get only a scattering of votes in any case. But a great many people will, it appears, feel resentment that they do not have a full ballot. It is [illegible] Advertiser has often pointed out, unreasonable to overlook that all of this was decided in the Spring primaries, bit confusion is so widespread that some weeks before [illegible]t Wallace on the Alabama ballot.

It is plain on the present face of things that there is no harm in the Truman supporters. Not only was attendance scant, but the feebleness was evidenced by the absence of prominent politicians. There is not a nickel's worth of Truman strength in this state.

the resentment nevertheless exists and may grow.

Whether Truman electors get on the ballot is, of course, a matter of law and not policy. But if there is any way to satisfy Langan and his crowd, we believe it would be wise to do so.

It seems to us that sponsors of the Thurmond-Wright ticket, which will be under the Rooster, should welcome the addition of Truman electors. For in the general confusion of the present political circumstance, it is quite possible that in the future Langan and associates may be able to sell many people on the notion that self-seeking politicians deprived them of a full ballot. That is not true, as we see it, but the possibilities of a sale are easy to discern.

Dixie Demos Backing Lodge's Try For Shift To Popular Vote

BY JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, Aug. 21 — (AP) — Southern Democratic support appeared today for a move by Sen. Lodge (R., Mass.) to put presidential elections on a popular vote basis.

Sens Sparkman (D., Ala.) and Olin D. Johnston (D., S. C.), told a reporter in separate interviews they will back in the next session of Congress a proposal to change the present system by which a state's entire electoral college vote is cast for the candidate who tops the popular ballot test.

Lodge offered in the last session and intends to revive a proposed constitutional amendment under which each candidate would share in the electoral vote on the percentage of his election day total.

Thus an aspirant who lost out by only a few popular votes to his presidential opponent would get nearly half of the state's support in the electoral college, instead of none at all.

Sparkman said he thinks Southern Democrats generally will support the proposal because it would "go a long way toward doing away with minority rule in this country."

"There are some minorities in Northern states who get just about anything they want out of the political parties because the parties fear they may have the balance of power in a state with a lot of electoral votes," the Alabama senator said.

* * *

HE ADDED THAT HE BELIEVED a change such as suggested by Lodge "would have a good effect in the South."

"It would encourage both parties to campaign in the South, because if the Republicans could cut into the electoral vote there—which they can't do now—the Democrats would be campaigning to keep them from it."

Johnston pointed out that the South long has felt that its influence in the Democratic Party has not been in proportion to the electoral college support it has furnished.

Other Dixie lawmakers have said they think President Truman would not have pushed his civil rights program with any of the vigor he displayed if the proposed new electoral system had been in effect.

Lodge seems likely also to get strong Republican support for his revision proposal. As chairman of the party's platform drafting committee he succeeded in getting approval in that document of a proposal for a revision "which will more exactly reflect the popular vote."

But any such change must run the gauntlet of two-thirds approval by both houses of Congress and approval by three-fourths of the state legislatures.

* * *

MEANWHILE, AT Pawling, N. Y., Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, GOP nominee for the presidency, received get-out-and-work pledges from a half dozen key lawmakers at conferences in Albany and New York this week.

The pledges came from House Speaker Joseph W. Martin, Massachusetts; Sen. William F. Knowland, California, close friend of Gov. Earl Warren, Dewey's vice presidential running mate; Rep. Charles A. Halleck, Indiana, majority leader of the House; Sen. Lodge, important member of the Senate foreign relations committee; Sen. Styles Bridges, New Hampshire, chairman of the Senate appropriations committee; Rep. Everett M. Dirksen, Illinois, who rates high at the party councils.

At Louisville, Ky., The Courier-Journal said in a news story published Friday night it has learned

Republicans will spend "more than $1,000,000" on newspaper advertising in the Nov. 2 general election campaign.

The story said the money "will be spent in 38 states, including Kentucky, to put three half-page advertisements in more than 7,000 daily and weekly newspapers."

The story said the paper learned of the GOP newspaper advertising plans "from a letter received at Republican state headquarters in Louisville from Lockwood-Shackelford, Los Angeles, authorized advertising agent of the Republican National Committee."

States' Righters Win Ballot Tilt In Court

RALEIGH, N. C., Aug. 21—(AP)—States' Rights Democrats were one up on the State Board of Elections Saturday in their court fight to get a place on the ballot.

Judge W. C. Harris in Wake Superior Court Friday ruled the States' Righters are entitled to get their candidates' names on the ballot.

He signed an order directing the elections board to let the party enter its candidates—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, for president and Gov. Fielding L. Wright, of Mississippi, for vice president.

Atty. Gen. Harry McMullan, who argued the case for the elections board, gave notice of appeal to the State Supreme Court.

The Electoral Problem

The present situation in Alabama provides additional arguments in behalf of a general overhauling of our electoral college system to the end that the electoral vote will more nearly reflect the popular vote.

As matters stand now, the entire electoral vote of this state will probably be cast for Thurmond and Wright, candidates on the "States' Rights" ticket. Republicans are talking about picking up enough dissident Democratic votes to throw the state to Dewey and Warren, and there may be a ticket of electors pledged to support the nominees of the national Democratic Party that might have some chance at a plurality in a badly split field. However, the decision of the anti-Truman electors chosen in the Democratic primary in May to cast the state's 11 electoral college votes for Thurmond and Wright gets support from the announcement that Sens. Hill and Sparkman and former Gov. Chauncey Sparks expect to put their mark "under the rooster."

No matter what happens, however, the electoral vote of Alabama this Fall will come far short of representing anything approaching unanimity of opinion. The results will not come up to the Democratic majorities of recent previous elections in which Roosevelt got 81.7 per cent of the Alabama popular vote in 1944, 85.6 per cent in 1940, and 87.1 per cent in 1936.

There has been proposed in Congress a constitutional amendment which would divide a state's electoral vote according to the divisions of the popular vote within the state. If that law were to be in effect in Alabama this Fall, the result would be that Thurmond and Wright would get in electoral votes whatever percentage of the popular vote they obtained, with other electoral votes going to Dewey or whatever other candidate might draw as much as one-eleventh of the popular support.

The Elector Controversy

Alabama's Democratic elector nominees are pledged to vote against President Truman, nominee of the national Democratic Party. An Alabama statute provides that such electors shall support the nominees of the national party. But a State Supreme Court advisory opinion has held that this is unconstitutional. That ruling maintained that the federal constitution gives electors the right to follow their own judgment in casting their votes.

Generally, of course, state electors have supported the national candidates of the party with which they have been affiliated. On one side, it is contended that accepted custom and practice have made this the duty of electors. On the other, it is contended that the constitutional intention was to give the electors independence of action.

Furthermore, "States' Rights" Democrats hold that they have freedom of action in determining whether or not they will support national nominees of the party with which they have been affiliated.

* * *

This is a complex issue of far-reaching importance. There is great need for clarification of the legal aspects of the issue.

Gov. Folsom has been in Washington this week inquiring into the advisability of seeking a pre-election ruling by the United States Supreme Court in this matter. Yesterday he announced that he had been advised that he could not take such an action directly to that court. He said, however, that on his return to Alabama he will proceed to this end in the Federal District Court or a state court after the election.

The governor maintains that, under Alabama law, votes cast for the electoral slate under the traditional emblem of the Democratic Party will be votes for Truman and Barkley. "If our statute is valid," he said, "that means the Democratic electors who have stated they would not cast their votes in the electoral college for Truman and Barkley will be compelled to do so."

But, on the other hand, opportunity for such groups to break away from old alignments obviously exists.

Just when is such a break justifiable? How far should law go to bind electors?

* * *

This newspaper does not, of course, undertake to pass on the legal questions involved. They are, indeed, very involved. As we have frequently declared, the functioning of national parties calls for a broad measure of collaboration on the part of state groups affiliated with those parties. Ordinarily there has been such cooperation. Particularly when state party groups participate in national party processes do they seem to be under a broad obligation.

These are questions calling for careful consideration and such legal rulings as may be needed. In the circumstances in Alabama, under which duly nominated electors are pledged to vote against the party's nominees, there are important obligations that go with such freedom. A thorough exploration of the whole issue after the election should be helpful.

Byrd Machine Moves To Quash Negro Vote, 3rd Party

RICHMOND, Va.—Governor Tuck and the Byrd machine received a sharp setback this week when protests from outraged Virginians of all political shadings forced modification of their proposals to wreck the voting rights of the people. Protests are still pouring in and as this is written it seems possible that the white supremacist ballot tampering may receive a complete defeat.

The Byrd-Tuck proposals were presented to the General Assembly on Thursday morning in a long and viciously white supremacist harangue by Gov. Tuck. He attacked federal anti-lynching and anti-polltax legislation, as well as third party nominee Henry Wallace. Within 10 minutes of the Governor's speech the machine whip in the House of Delegates had introduced a bill to carry out the Byrd-Tuck proposals.

★

THE BILL INTRODUCED provided that the names of Presidential candidates would be removed from the ballot and only the names of the parties and a slate of electors would remain. The electors, under the bill, would be instructed how to vote by their party's state convention or any party committee chosen by such a convention.

Since the convention of the State Democratic Party is completely dominated by the Byrd machine, such a proposal would mean that Harry Byrd would have the power to determine how all persons who may vote for the Democratic Party would vote for President, a move obviously designed to strengthen the hand of the southern bourbons in their white supremacist campaign against federal civil rights legislation.

Other proposals in the bill would have barred any new party from the ballot, thus eliminating opposition from the new party for Henry Wallace which is being formed throughout the state. It would also bar the names of Communist and other minority party Presidential candidates from the ballot.

★

OPPOSITION to the Tuck plan was evident immediately as the jammed visitors' galleries greeted the Governor's message with complete silence. Editorial comment the following morning was almost unanimous in condemning the proposals. The two most influential papers in the state, the Richmond **Times-Dispatch** and the Norfolk **Virginian-Pilot**, took the lead.

Statements condemning the plan were also immediately issued by George Elwood, chairman of the Virginia Committee for Wallace; Martin A. Hutchinson, anti-machine leader of the Democratic Party who received 90,000 votes in his race against Byrd for the Senate; E. L. King, president of the State Federation of Labor, and anti-Byrd Congressman Flanagan from Virginia's Ninth Congressional District.

Also joining the opposition were Mayor Edwards of Richmond, chairman of the State Democratic Committee, who announced that he had not been consulted on the plan; Rev. Charles Webber, president of the State CIO, and Dr. J. M. Tinsley, president of the Virginia State Conference of the NAACP. Several Congressmen, usually found in the Byrd camp, including Porter Hardy of Norfolk and J. Vaughan Gary of Richmond, voiced doubts about the wisdom of the plan and numerous Delegates and Senators in the General Assembly added their doubting voices to the stream of comment.

WHILE MOST OPPONENTS of the Tuck plan voiced opposition only on the grounds that it was un-democratic and would prepetuate machine rule and joined in Gov. Tuck's upon civil rights legislation, the statement of the Virginia Committee for Wallace and several others pointed out that the plan was part of the white supremacy conspiracy. They coupled their opposition to the Governor's plan with demands for federal civil rights legislation passage.

The Communist Party of Virginia was among those sharply attacking the plan. The Communist Party's statement said, in part:

". . . Governor Tuck has proposed amendments to the election laws which, even after being watered down as a result of popular indignation, would give the small handful of Byrd bosses complete authority to cast the votes of thousands of Virginians in any way they wished. They would make it extremely difficult for the Communist Party, and other minority parties, to place candidates for President before the people, though they have done so in the past.

"The machine hopes by these proposals to block congressional passage of badly needed and long overdue legislation to secure the rights of the Negro and white people of the South, and to perpetuate its own rule in Virginia. The machine is trying to stampede the people into acceptance of this un-American restriction on voting rights by appeals to 'white supremacy' prejudices and false cries of 'states' rights.'"

FACING THIS BARRAGE of opposition the machine modified its proposal by approving amendments which would permit Henry Wallace's party to appear on the ballot and made other minor modifications.

Realizing the strength of the opposition the machine decided to jam the bill through the legislature in goose-step time, but again miscalculated the temper of the people. Meeting Friday morning, even before the text of the bill had been printed, a House Committee went into executive session and reported the amended version of the bill favorably to the House of Delegates.

This Star Chamber procedure has resulted in still further opposition to the bill itself and, under pressure, the machine has been forced to delay consideration of the bill and to promise public hearings before it is to be debated in the Senate. Finally, Gov. Tuck reported that further modifications of his bill would be made.

In The Nation's Capital

By LOUIS LAUTIER

Brazen Moves

OBVIOUSLY, THE brazen proposal of Virginia's Governor William M. Tuck is aimed at President Truman. As chastisement of the Chief Executive for his espousal of civil rights legislation it undoubtedly is unmoral. But there is nothing illegal or novel about it.

The framers of the Constitution contemplated that electors, no matter the manner in which they were selected, would choose the President and Vice President. They believed this method superior to the election of the President by any preexisting body or the people.

Governor Tuck proposed that the General Assembly change the state's election laws so as to eliminate the names of all presidential and vice presidential candidates from the ballot. There would be listed, by party affiliation, only the names of presidential and vice presidential electors. The presidential electors, unbound to any candidate, would vote as instructed by state party leaders.

The Purpose

Other southern states were urged to take similar action. The purpose is either to force President Truman to abandon his civil rights program or to throw the election of a President and Vice President into the House of Representatives.

By clause 3, section 1, Article II, of the Constitution, and by the Twelfth Amendment which superseded that clause, in case no nominee receives a majority of the electoral votes, the House of Representatives is to choose the President, and "the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote." Two-thirds of the total membership of the House shall constitute a quorum, and a majority of all the states is necessary to a choice.

If the House fails to make a choice before January 20, then the Vice President shall act as President. But if no candidate for Vice President receives a majority of the electoral votes, the Senate shall choose the Vice President. A quorum for this purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the entire Senate membership, and a majority of the electoral votes, the Senate shall choose the Vice President. A quorum for this purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the entire Senate membership, and a majority of the whole membership shall be necessary to a choice.

State legislatures have the exclusive authority to prescribe the method of choosing electors. Various methods have been used. Electors have been elected by the legislature itself on joint ballot, by the legislature through a concurrent vote of the two houses, by vote of the people for a general ticket, by vote of the people for a general ticket, by vote of the people in districts, by choice partly by the people voting in districts and partly by the legislature, by choice by the legislature from candidates voted for by the people in districts.

Provisions

The second section of the Fourteenth Amendment provides that if the right to vote is denied or abridged to any male inhabitant of the state having attained majority, and being a citizen of the United States, then the basis of representation to which each state is entitled in the Congress shall be proportionately reduced.

Whenever presidential electors are selected by popular vote, and that is the method now generally used, the right to vote cannot be denied or abridged without invoking the penalty provided in the Fourteenth Amendment. That also holds true in regard to the right to vote for representation in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state, or the members of a state legislature.

Inasmuch as President Truman's civil rights program, so largely affecting the liberties of colored people, is the target of Governor Tuck and other southern politicians, it seems that it would be appropriate for colored people to insist that the Congress take appropriate action to carry into effect the penalty provision of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Reduction of southern representation in Congress would also reduce the number of electors to which the South is entitled since the Constitution provides that the number of electors shall be equal to the number of Senators and

End the Power Of Minorities

C. M. ROBERTS

Pat Livingston, the Inquiring Photographer, is on vacation. The following substitute feature is the second of two articles on the proposed Gossett Constitutional Amendment.

WASHINGTON—If the Lodge-Gossett Amendment to the Constitution ...

... system of naming the President, is adopted, the favoritism now shown the small States of the Union will nonetheless be preserved.

That favoritism comes about through the manner in which a State is assigned its electoral vote. Each State has members in the House of Representatives in accordance with its population, no State having less than one. To this each State adds two electoral votes, representing the two members each has in the Senate.

Thus our least populous State, Nevada, now has three electoral votes for its one Representative and two Senators. New York, most populous, has 47 for 45 Representatives and two Senators. Therefore, in Nevada one electoral vote represents just under 37,000 persons while in New York one electoral vote represents just under 76,000 persons. To capture an elec-

... Representatives to which the several states are by law entitled at the time when the President and Vice President to be chosen come into office.

oral vote in New York, then, akes more than twice as many opular votes, all other things be- ng equal.

THIS BONUS system for the mall States, part of the original eal in setting up our Constitution nd solving the Large vs. Small tate controversy, is still main- ained under the proposed Lodge- iossett Amendment.

The difference is that, to get all f Nevada's three or New York's 7 electoral votes, a Presidential andidate also would have to get ll the popular votes in either tate.

An example of how a slight change in the New York State vote could decide a Presidential election under the present system occurred in 1884 when Grover Cleveland was opposing James G. Blaine. Cleveland received 563,084 votes there to 562,001 for Blaine, a difference of 1,083 votes. A change of less than 600, therefore, would have thrown New York's entire electoral vote to Blaine. Because everything in that election depended on New York's electoral votes, Blaine, instead of Cleveland, would have been elected President.

The House Judiciary Committee report on the Gossett Amendment (identical to the one sponsored by Sen. Lodge) comments in these words:

"Should a similar situation again arise, as well it might, the Communist Party in the State of New York alone could determine who was to be President of the United States."

The comment on the possible influence of the Communists is particularly pertinent in the light of the 1948 election. It is a fact that the Communists are backing Henry A. Wallace and that they have quite a large number of voters in New York State who will vote for Mr. Wallace.

IT MAY BE that the Republican candidate will run so far ahead of the Democratic candidate that the Wallace vote will make no difference in that State. But it also may be that the Republican will run so little ahead of the Democrat that the Wallace third-party vote will be the factor that gives New York's 47 electoral votes to the Republican. And, further, it may be that the popular vote is so close that the Communist vote alone among the third-party voters will be the margin by which the State goes Republican.

And, of course, New York may be the margin by which the nation goes Republican.

This business of the minority vote in key States—Communist or any other type—is best described in the House Committee report, unanimously approved by both Republicans and Democrats:

"The electoral college system places unreasonable and unconscionable burdens and temptations upon a presidential candidate and upon a President elected by it. Political expediency, if not political necessity, compels a presidential candidate to woo and often to kowtow to the organized minority votes in the big pivotal States.

"These votes are often, in effect, up for sale to the highest bidder, an overweening temptation for political corruption. The political strategists in his party are constantly urging a President to extend undue favors and consideration to these politically potent groups to whom he probably owes his election. No President should be subjected to such pressure or to such temptation. The proposed amendment would obviate this evil."

Rep. Gossett gets down to the point the committee makes by looking at the 1944 political platforms. He notes that both parties wrote in fair-employment-practices planks which, as a Texan, he deplores. He adds that the platform-makers "of both parties will tell you frankly, off the record, that this was done as a bid for the Negro vote."

A second minority group, which both parties wooed, he says, was "the radical labor wing of organized labor." He says both parties "pussyfooted the labor question because of organized labor's power through the electoral college."

Finally, the Texas Representative makes the point that both parties appealed to the Jewish vote in New York by pledges on the Palestine issue. Many members of Congress will agree that the erratic American policy on this issue stems from rival political maneuvers designed more to catch votes than to solve the problem itself.

Remove the overbalanced power of all minority groups, the Lodge-Gossett amendment backers say, and we will be rid of the pressure to knuckle under to any minority. We will, in effect, be a more democratic nation in the conduct of our Government.

CHALMERS M. ROBERTS

A New System for Elections?

Pat Livingston, the Inquiring Photographer, is on vacation. The following substitute feature is the first of two articles on the proposed Gossett Constitutional Amendment.

WASHINGTON—Congress has an opportunity, before it adjourns for the Presidential campaign, to offer the States a new constitutional amendment to make sure the 1948 election will be the last under the present electoral college system.

Under the Lodge - Gossett amendment there would be no electors. The voters would choose among Presidential candidates directly, without any intervening group. Each State's electoral vote would be divided according to the popular vote and not cast in a bloc.

The amendment, recently approved by both the Senate and House Judiciary Committees, revolves around these two key sentences:

"The electoral college system of electing the President and Vice President of the United States is hereby abolished. The President and Vice President shall be elected by the people of the several States."

The amendment makes the qualifications of voters for President the same as for the "most numerous branch" of the State Legislature in each State. Otherwise, each State is in control of its own rules on voting eligibility.

FORTY-FIVE days after the election, or as Congress otherwise determines, each State's official custodian of election returns must send the President of the Senate in Washington "distinct lists of all persons for whom votes were cast for President and the number of votes for each" as well as the total number of votes cast in the State. The Senate's President then will open the returns before a joint session of Congress.

Each Presidential candidate will receive "such proportion of the electoral votes" of each State "as he received of the total vote" cast in that State. The division will be carried out to the third decimal point unless "a more detailed calculation would change the result of the election."

The Vice President is elected in the same way, no persons constitutionally ineligible for the job of President can be eligible for Vice President.

THE AMENDMENT was offered in the Senate by a Republican, Sen. Lodge, of Massachusetts, and in the House by a Democrat, Rep. Gossett, of Texas. For many years the late Sen. Norris, of Nebraska, sought to write such an election change into the constitution.

The amendment's sponsors feel there is even more need today for the reform, agreed to long ago by political scientists. They point, for one thing, to the recent action of Alabama voters in naming a slate of Presidential electors pledged not to cast the State's electoral vote for President Truman, if he is the Democratic nominee.

This is what its sponsors claim the amendment would accomplish:

1. End the possibility that another President could reach the White House with less popular votes than his chief opponent. This has happened three times in our history—Adams had less than Jackson in 1824, Hayes had less than Tilden in 1876 and Harrison less than Cleveland in 1888. The winners won by carrying the big States.

2. Open the now Democratic Solid South to the two-party system by making it worth while for the Republicans to campaign in every one of the 11 States. In 1944, for example, instead of Roosevelt getting all 127 electoral votes of the 11 States, Dewey would have won about 28 to Roosevelt's 99, disregarding fractions. On the other hand, the Democrats would have obtained 3 2-3 of the eight votes of Maine and Vermont, instead of none. The "what's-the-use" voter would go to the polls instead of staying home.

3. End the out-of-proportion influence of the third party which thrives on its ability to swing a doubtful State from one party to another. It likewise would diminish the power of minority pressure groups, political, racial or religious, for whose support both major parties now angle every four years. On the other hand, a third party would have a chance to build into a major party strictly on its ability to get the votes.

4. End the business of "doubtful" States and "safe" States in Presidential elections. Every State would be a battleground, not just half-a-dozen "pivotal" States. Candidates would campaign all over the nation, not just in key sections. Sectionalism would be largely destroyed.

5. End the custom of choosing candidates from the "pivotal" States. Of the last 10 Presidents, six have come either from New York or Ohio. Under the amendment, a good man from any State would have a better chance for nomination because there would not be the political scheming to carry certain States.

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

The Democrats Can Win If—

(EDITOR'S NOTE—Ben F. Ray, writer of the following communication, is a widely known Birmingham attorney with considerable experience in party politics. He has been a member of the State Democratic Executive Committee, a delegate to a national party convention (1940), and long has been interested in party matters.)

To the Editor of The News:

The President of the United States is not elected by the direct vote of the people. All candidates for president are nominated through a party system and a party nominee is elected by the majority vote of the 531 electors in the electoral college. A nominee is the symbol of his party and becomes the spokesman of all the American people when elected president by 266 votes of the present electoral college.

In a broad sense, politics in America is a game. And history shows the Republicans "play the game for keeps." In baseball it is often good tactics to "play for the runner." The same is true in national politics.

The Republican Party will convene in June for the purpose of selecting a nominee of that party. After a nominee has been named, it will then be good strategy on the part of the Democratic Party, when convened in July, to "play for the runner."

The Democratic Party is a national party. The Republican Party claims to be a national party, but in fact has little direct influence in a dozen states. If the South will "play ball" politically according to the time-honored rules of the game, the Republican nominee can be defeated in the electoral college. The Republicans will never aid a Democrat. Therefore, no man from Alabama should be elected to cast a vote in the electoral college who might make the slightest maneuver in favor of the Republican nominee.

It is of the highest importance that the Democratic voters of Alabama on May 4 select 11 electors who will neither walk out, resign nor aid, abet and assist the nominee of the Republican Party.

It is important that the Democratic Party or the Republican Party nominate and elect a President of the United States in 1948. Failure to do so would throw the election of a president into the House of Representatives and tend to destroy, for the present at least, our national two-party system under which America has made a wonderful record.

I consider any movement that would throw the election of the President of the United States into the House of Representatives to be against the public interest.

BEN F. RAY.

From Presidential Elector Edmund Blair

TO MR. F. HUDSON, Publisher, Your recent fine editorial clarifying the position of The Advertiser with regard to the State's Rights Democratic party, was very gratifying to me, more especially since I am one of the 11 presidential electors.

It is a certainty that the moral support given by your highly regarded and historic paper will be of untold value. In many years of newspaper work, with a "sprinkling" of politics on the side, I don't believe I have ever found the people of this or any other state as solidly united as are the people of Alabama for the State's Rights party. It is so amazing, that at times, it seems almost unbelievable.

In spite of the opposition of a very small minority, led by a small group who are thinking only of their political future, I believe this is the beginning of a great party of the people which will eventually mean the political and economic emancipation of our Southland.

As I see it, the Democratic Party now in the hands of northern and eastern political machines will go to pieces after the November election and real Democrats of the nation will have no place to go except South-ward. Then the party will be back in the hands of Southern people who nurtured the party from birth and whence it belongs.

Again let me thank you for a great editorial and for fine and inspiring leadership.

Pell City, Ala. EDMUND BLAIR,
Publisher, The Pell City News.

3rd Party Names 2 Ala. Electors

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—Two Negroes are among the eleven electors selected by the Progressive party for the November elections.

The Negro electors are Frank R. McGhee, undertaker, Birmingham, and Jesse L. Dansey, miner, Bessemer.

N. Y. Woman Is Named Elector

NEW YORK—Apparently setting a precedent in Democratic circles, Mrs. Edith McAllister Alexander, Harlem community leader and a member of the Mayor's Committee on Unity, was named a presidential elector Friday from the Twenty-second Congressional District by J. Raymond Jones, city deputy commissioner of housing.

Governor Asserts He Favors Popular Vote for President To Replace Electoral College

By ALLAN M. TROUT
The Courier-Journal Frankfort Bureau.

Frankfort, Ky., July 20.—Governor Earle C. Clements and many of his Democratic colleagues here believe the Southern revolt in the Democratic Party may lead to election of Presidents by popular vote, rather than by the Electoral College.

The change would require an amendment to the Federal Constitution. Governor Clements said he would not hesitate to call a special session of the Legislature if Kentucky were needed as the 36th State to ratify such an amendment.

There has been an undercurrent of this talk in Frankfort since the rebellious Southerners met in convention at Birmingham last week. They nominated Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for President, and Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi for Vice-President. First one and then another among high-placed Democrats here has said if the so-called Dixiecrats tamper too much with Southern electors, Congress may propose an amendment to abolish the electoral system in favor of direct vote by the people.

Favored Change Earlier.

Governor Clements said it is his opinion the revolt has afforded fresh reasons why the electoral system ought to be abolished. But, the Governor added, he was in favor of abolishing it long before the current party crisis developed.

"Do you believe in the change so much you would call a special session next year to ratify an amendment to the Federal Constitution?" he was asked.

"Yes," he replied, "if Kentucky were needed as the 36th State to ratify it."

In view of Kentucky's strategic position in higher councils of the party, it may be of nation-wide significance that such talk has cropped out here in Frankfort. Kentucky, as a border state, is part of the geographical South, and most Kentuckians know first-hand many of the factors underlying the political revolt.

But Kentucky voted for the civil-rights plank at the convention in Philadelphia, then remained without wavering in the regular party machinery behind President Harry S. Truman. Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky was nominated for Vice-President by acclamation. And Governor Clements, from the outset, studiously has avoided conferences of the disgruntled Southern governors.

To elect the President and Vice-President by popular vote would be the second great election loss sustained by advocates of state rights. The first occurred in 1913 when the Federal Constitution was amended to allow election of U. S. senators by direct vote of the people. Theretofore, they had been elected by State Legislatures.

The electoral system has been in the Federal Constitution since the beginning. It was sponsored by the small States of New England as an effective guarantee that big States would not overwhelm small ones in the election of Presidents. The electoral system has not been amended since 1804. That amendment affected only a detail, not the principle, of the system.

Kentucky Has 11 Votes.

Each State is entitled to as many electors as it has representatives and senators in Congress. Kentucky, for example, has nine representatives and two senators — making a total of 11 electoral votes. The nation-wide total is 531. The people actually vote for electors, and the electors, in turn, vote for President and Vice-President.

If the special session of Congress President Truman has called to convene Monday proposes such an amendment, it then would require ratification by 36 States. The Legislatures of 44 States meet in 1949, but seven of these States have been involved, at one time or another, in the Dixiecrat uprising. That would leave 37 States in the other column, plus the Governor's willingness to call a special session if Kentucky were needed as the 36th.

Rights Vote Pledged By Mississippi Party

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 3—(AP)—The Mississippi Democratic Convention approved today the walkout of the State's delegates at the National Convention, and pledged their Electoral College candidates to support the states' rights ticket.

Two college student visitors spoke in opposition to the States' Rights movement. They were followed by other college students supporting the movement.

In other resolutions the convention:

1—Approved the action of Mississippi delegates in joining the States' Rights conference in Birmingham, Ala., July 17 after the National Democratic Convention walkout.

2—Nominated South Carolina Gov. J. Strom Thurmond and Mississippi Gov. Fielding L. Wright as candidates of the Mississippi Democratic Party for President and Vice President and pledged their electoral college candidates to them. These are the Birmingham States' Rights standard bearers.

3—Called for a "campaign of education so as to acquaint the people in each county with all the facts pertaining to the States' Rights movement."

4. Commissioned the nine electoral-candidates as delegates to a "convention of the Democratic Parties of the several states to be held in Birmingham" on Oct. 1.

5. Declared that the sense of today's convention is that all candidates for office on the State Democratic ticket should publicly declare their support for the states' rights plans.

6. Called on Mississippi's Congressional delegation and candidates for Congress to declare how they would vote if Congress should have to decide the Presidential election. The election goes to Congress if no Presidential candidate gets a majority in the electoral college.

The opposition to the states' rights movement came from a group of 18 students in a section reserved for "visitors opposed to states' rights."

George Maddox, 23, of McComb, a senior at Millsaps College, was booed, largely by the pro-states' rights college contingent, when he began speaking.

"We are placing Mississippi in opposition to the moral trend of the nation," he asserted.

THOSE THURMOND VOTES

A member of the Electoral College remains constitutionally free to cast his vote for whomever he chooses. The Twelfth Amendment says so and the Supreme Court, refusing yesterday to order the Alabama electors to shift to Truman, needed no other authority. The only strange feature of this episode is that Governor Folsom of Alabama and those who backed him in his injunction appeal appear to have thought the Court could amend the Constitution by decree.

But constitutional freedom in this instance is not moral freedom. The Alabama electors pledged themselves to vote for J. Strom Thurmond for President. The Alabama voters could not and did not vote for Mr. Truman, because he was not on the Alabama ticket, but they did vote for Mr. Thurmond in preference to Mr. Dewey, in the proportion of about five to one. The instructions thus given at the polls the electors are now morally bound to carry out. So are the Thurmond electors in South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana.

If the electors in these cases could be enjoined to change their ballots so could electors in other cases, and every Presidential election would end in confusion. Our Electoral College system certainly needs overhauling, but until this has been done by the usual constitutional procedure we had better not tamper with it.

Pressure Against Mississippi Progressive Electors Charged

BAY ST. LOUIS, Miss., Sept. 15 —(AP)—Chairman J. Lewis Henderson, of the Progressive Party in Mississippi, said yesterday that "strong pressure" has been brought to bear on his party's slate of presidential electors.

Henderson said in a written statement that the "forced resignation" of Frank L. Armistead as secretary of the Newton Chamber of Commerce came because Armistead "refused to be driven into the Dixiecrat lineup."

Armistead is a Progressive Party elector candidate.

"If this thing continues, all citizens may lose their political freedom, and with it their rights of free speech and freedom of assembly," the statement continued.

"Strong pressure, either directly or indirectly, has been brought against our entire slate of presidential electors pledged to the Progressive Party in Mississippi. Two persons already have reacted to this pressure by withdrawing their names from the list. Others may be forced to follow suit if the pressure continues.

"We have evidence that a great many citizens of Mississippi would like to vote for the Wallace-Taylor ticket if they get the opportunity, but without nine presidential electors we cannot qualify for a place on the ballot.

"The ballot box, of course, is the proper place in a democracy for all citizens to express approval or disapproval of a candidate."

Armistead resigned as secretary of the Newton Chamber of Commerce after the chamber expressed disapproval of his political leanings.

Lumpkin described the FEPC as a "brazen attempt to force upon the American people the worst system of minority control since the coming of Christianity."

He added:

"To vote for any candidate for public office who stands for the misnamed, Communist - inspired civil rights legislation is to sell into bondage our children's children."

But Separate Presidential Ticket Drawn

Minority Group To Name Electors

Democratic nominees to Congress will be on a pro-Truman ticket as well as the States Rights Democratic ticket in South Carolina's general election.

The pro-Truman ticket will be a slate of eight candidates to the electoral college selected by minority members of the Democratic party executive committee.

These two decisions were made today in an executive session of a pro-Truman group clinging to the National Democratic party, and originally called the Citizens' Committee.

R. A. Jolley of Greenville, state executive committeeman who opposed naming a slate of electors pledged to the States Rights Democratic presidential ticket, was named chairman of the minority committeemen.

Jolley said that his group would meet within ten days to name its electoral college slate pledged to the nominees of the National Party. These are Harry Truman for president and Alben Barkley for vice president.

He listed as the minority committeemen Rep. Roger W. Scott of Dillon, who was present today; Cal H. Strickland of Anderson, Dr. W. A. Strickland of Oconee, G. May Perry of Pickens, and Sen. Howard McCravy of Spartanburg.

'We Are The Party'

When asked if these committeemen planned to resign from the State Executive Committee, Jolley replied:

"Of course not. We are the Democratic Party." He referred to the group of citizens rebelling against the State Party's shifting to the ticket of Gov. J. Strom Thurmond for president and Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi for vice president.

Jolley told the press, at a conference immediately after the executive session, that he felt there was still time for a State Convention.

"At the time of the State Convention May 19 there was no States Rights Democratic Party," Jolley said. "The people should have an opportunity to express themselves now."

He quoted Thurmond as saying that a State Convention should be reconvened to receive an expression from the people after the National Convention.

"I don't see how in the world they (the anti-Trumanites) can carry the banner of the Democratic Party and hold to their pledge to the States Righters," Jolley said.

Civil Rights Issue

"The only way the civil rights issue can be fought is by our representatives in Congress. That cannot be fought out in South Carolina," Jolley declared.

"We must do that in Congress and that is in very capable hands."

"I think that the Dixiecrats or the States Righters should surrender the name of Democrat. They cannot ride two horses at one time."

Jolley said that the Anti-Truman Democratic Party here should have adopted either two ballots or a secret ballot. (Ballots of the general election are regulated by State statutes adopted by the General Assembly.)

Questioned directly, "Do you consider yourselves bolters?" Jolly replied, "Certainly not."

He said the group of about 30 meeting at the Wade Hampton hotel voted to place the Democratic congressional and senate nominnees on the general election ticket with the Pro-Truman electors "unless requested otherwise by the nominees individually."

Jolley said that Dr. A. L. Fletcher remained chairman and Thomas R. Garity treasurer of the Pro-Truman citizens group which now maintains headquarters at the Wade Hampton hotel, called "Democratic Headquarters."

The motion to have the members of the State executive committee voting against the States Rights ticket name electors was made by Senator E. W. Cantwell of Williamsburg County.

Jolley said that his purpose in attending the meeting was merely to "observe." He had no idea that the meeting would take the trend it did, he said.

Statement To Press

Prior to the meeting, Jolley submitted a statement to the press to the effect that he "was attempting to assist in any possible way in seeing that the citizens of South Carolina have an opportunity to vote as their conscience guided them.

"Before I take any action with any group, I want to know where it is going," Jolley said.

The group took no action on the national committee man and committee woman posts, now held by Thurmond and Mrs. Anne Agnew. Both were named by the State Convention May 19, but this group declared the posts were "vacated" when the state committee shifted to States Rights.

Neither did the group discuss having precinct meetings and formulating a permanent organization. Leaders declared "we are the Democratic Party."

Among those heard speaking at the meeting were Earle R. Britton president of the South Carolina American Federation of Labor, and the Rev. Maxie Collins, executive secretary of the South Carolina Federated Temperance Forces.

Britton asserted that the states would not help labor. He said "all we've gotten was from the federal government. They gave us a minimum wage and hour law and all we've gained."

About 30 people attended the meeting but several said they were "merely observers" and were not participating.

Among those present were Judge Richard Foster of Greenville; Fletch; former Gov. Ransome J. Williams, Ashton Williams of Lake City; former Senator R. S. Rogers of Bishopville.

Also, former Rep. S. B. Williams of Wagner; Jolley; Scott, Collins, Garity, Cantwell, Edmund G. Grant of Columbia, who said he was observing only; Mrs. J. Richard Allison. Dr. John McConaughy, who said he was merely observing; John W. Pollard of Spartanburg.

Also, John R. McCravy of Pickens, William Amis of Newberry, S. C. Epting of Lexington. J. G. Cooner of Saluda, John Murry of Bethune, R. C. Griffith of Gaffney, J. G. Hipp of Belton; Britton; Randolph Watson of Spartanburg, John M. Ross of Joanna, Mrs. Hickman, Lane Bonner who said he was observing, and M. L. Wood.

GOP Victory Plan Offered By McCorvey

Deal With Republicans Over Electoral Votes Is Key To His Scheme

BIRMINGHAM, ALA. —(AP) — State Party Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey offered Saturday night a plan by which he said the Southern states could defeat Truman and prevent enactment of federal civil rights legislation for four years.

It involves a deal with Republican Party leaders, and requires the States' Rights Democratic Party to carry enough states in the November election to hold the balance of power in electoral college voting on presidential candidates.

McCorvey spoke before a county Thurmond-Wright dinner here.

"Jim Peters, Georgia Democratic chairman, told us in Atlanta not to worry about Georgia going for States' Rights," McCorvey said. "After the Talmadge victory (for governor) this week, I talked with Peters again and he said the regular electors, when they are named, will be for Thurmond and Wright."

"If the Republican Party realizes that the Southern states, by throwing their electoral votes to Truman, could defeat Dewey and put Truman in the White House, you can rest assured that the Republican leaders will be ready to negotiate with us," he said.

Negotiations between the States' Righters and the GOP leadership would take place between the Nov. 2 general elections and Dec. 14, when presidential electors cast their ballots, he explained.

First, the Truman Democrats and the States' Righters would have to win enough votes to prevent Republican nominee Thomas E. Dewey from getting the 266 electoral votes required to elect a President.

During the intervening period, the States' Rights electors would have to agree with the Republicans to cast their votes for their own nominee, Gov. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina. That would throw the presidential election into the U. S. House of Representatives.

There the Republicans have a majority and could probably proceed to nominate their candidate, Dewey, McCorvey said.

McCorvey said there was no doubt in his mind that if States' Rights Democrats could achieve this, "we can get absolute assurance that for the next four years, at least, there will be no so-called civil rights bills passed by Congress."

"Right here let me remind you that never has any Republican administration tried to put upon the South the diabolical racial program which our so-called Democratic president is now insisting on," he added.

McCorvey, one of Alabama's 11 Democratic presidential electors, pledged that the state's electoral college vote will be cast for the States' Rights Democratic ticket of Thurmond for president and Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi for vice-president.

The 11 electors promised before the May primary that if nominated they would not vote for President Truman or any other candidate supporting his civil rights program.

"We were overwhelmingly elected, and we are going to carry out the mandate we received from you," he declared.

He assused State Senator Joseph N. Langan of "switches and somersaults" in the efforts of the Alabama Truman faction leader to get a slate of electors pledged to Truman on the state's November ballot.

Court Says State Electors Free To Vote As They Wish

Montgomery Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Mar 19-48

Alabama's presidential electors can vote for anyone they want to, the State Supreme Court ruled, Thursday.

The court held unconstitutional a state law which says electors must support the "nominee of the National Convention of the party by which they were elected." In Alabama, that would be Democrats.

Thursday's decision came in an advisory opinion asked by Gov. Folsom. All seven justices agreed the legislature cannot tell electors how to vote.

The ruling was welcomed by State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey as "the last cog that will turn Alabama's vote against President Truman."

The party leader pointed out that 21 of the 28 candidates for elector have signed a pledge that they won't vote for President Truman if he is nominated.

Clear Indication

An advisory opinion such as the Supreme Court gave out is not binding, but is a clear indication of how the justices would vote in an actual test case.

The court said the Federal Constitution gives the states power to saw how presidential electors are elected but that their authority ends there. When the legislature tries to tell the electors how to vote, the advisory opinion declared, "it has invaded the field set apart to the electors by the Constitution of the United States."

"It is true that there had grown up a practice under which electors have felt duty bound by virtue of their own consciences to vote for the nominees of the party which nominates them," the court said.

"But this course of action had followed their own personal regard for what was their duty and not some statutory mandate. The elector is a constitutional officer and the words in the original constitution and the amendment thereof show that he is to follow his own judgment and discretion."

The court also pointed to other "deficiencies" in the 1945 legislative act which sought to pledge the electors to the party nominee.

One of them was the reference to electors chosen by a political party. They are not elected by a party at all but by the people, the tribunal said.

Truman Loses 11 Electoral

Of State

The Advertiser

Of 28 Candidates Are Pledged Publicly To Withhold Support

Montgomery, Ala.

Four More Likely

Sun 3-19-48

Convention Is Warned Of Adopting Program Detrimental To South

By ATTICUS MULLIN

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., March 18.—President Truman already has lost Alabama's 11 electoral votes. This is based upon pledges, given to Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham, by 22 of 28 electoral college candidates, that they-if elected-will not cast their electoral votes for Truman. Wilkinson himself, is a candidate for one of the 11 posts.

The 22 candidates have solemnly pleged that, no matter what develops, they will not vote for Truman in the electoral college.

The other six candidates for elector, who have not pledged themselves against Truman, include two whisky representatives, who depend upon Gov. Folsom for business, the mayor or Gadsden, Forest Castleberry, of the Second Congressional District, Bart Cowart, of Winston County, and one other man.

Judge Jeff Carnley, of Coffee County, a candidate and father-in-law of Gov. Folsom, is one of the candidates who has pledged that, if chosen as an elector, he will not vote for Truman. This means, politicians say, that the two whisky men also will sign.

Wilkinson told the writer Thursday that he had informed the candidates of his intention to make their pledges public.

"While we have 22 out of 28 pledged against Truman" he said "I am confident that at least four others will pledge themselves. Truman already has lost Alabama."

Included on the list of signers, in addition to Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, and Wilkinson, are: Robert F. Albritton, Andalusia; Edmund Blair, Pell City; Ben Bloodworth, Decatur; Tully A. Goodwin, Florala; Tom Abernathy, Talladega; Norman Harris, Decatur; Walter F. Miller, Tuscumbia; W. R. Withers, Greensboro; Walter C. Givhan, Safford; John A. Lusk, Jr., Gadsden; J. J. Rogers, Tuskegee; Roger Snyder, Birmingham; Elvin C. McCrary, Anniston; Thomas H. Maxwell, Tuscaloosa; Roy F. Parker, Attalla; J. A. Carnley, Elba; J. E. Bains, Oneonta; V. W. Elmore, Gordo, and A. M. Simmons, Hacoda.

The pledge statement says that the electors will not vote for the Democratic Party candidate "if the Philadelphia Convention adopts a program hostile to the fundamental principles on which our civilization is based, or nominates a candidate for president who advocates such hostile principles. . ."

In that event it continues, the electors "will cast our electoral votes for some Democrat who understands and sympathizes with the peculiar racial problems of the South."

It charged that "President Truman's villianous program to enforce racial equality by the destruction of segregation and racial integrity was obviously announced to purchase the Negro vote in doubtful states."

Text of the pledge, given the writer by Wilkinson, follows:

To the Democrats of Alabama:

The undersigned candidates for presidential electors in the Democratic primary make the following statement and pledge to the Democrats of Alabama.

Electoral Vote Puzzle Stumps State Experts

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala
Sun 3-28-48

Four Courses Are Open To Alabama, South; Truman Support Out

Southerner Asked

Court Opinion Awaited On Statute Requiring Upholding Of Nominee

By MERCER BAILEY
Associated Press Writer

What will Alabama do with its 11 electoral votes in the presidential election? That's a question to stump even the political experts.

There's plenty of evidence that Alabama probably will refuse to support President Truman. His civil rights program touched off a vigorous anti-Truman trend that hasn't diminished.

Who, then, will Alabama turn to?

State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey recommends winning other sections of the country over to the South's point of view. Then the national nominating convention could choose a candidate acceptable to the South. And a platform could be written to satisfy the South.

Outstanding Man

If this fails, says McCorvey, Alabama's presidential electors should meet with those from other Dixie states and settle on a candidate who will suit the South. He suggested this part of the country might offer such an outstanding man that he could win over the established Democratic and Republican party candidates.

At a forum here Thursday, McCorvey was asked to suggest a man the South could rally around. He named U. S. Senators Byrd (D), Virginia, and George (D), Georgia. The suggestions didn't please everyone in the audience. Protests were heard.

Sun 3-28-48

To Be Worked Out

McCorvey then said it was a matter to be worked out.

Later on, Dr. J. R. Morton, of the University of Alabama, made this suggestion: What Alabama and the rest of the South needs to do is work out—and soon—a positive program, not just a negative one. Morton, moderator for the forum, said it's all right to be against something, but you need progressive steps as a substitute.

McCorvey made the point that Alabama Democrats are not national Democrats unless the state party chooses to join forces with the national group. Voting a Democratic ticket in the May and June primaries does not mean you are voting for the party which proposed the civil rights legislation, he said.

No Chance

Sun

Then in the November election—when presidential electors are chosen—you can vote the Democratic ticket again without supporting the national party. He said that since 21 of the 28 candidates for elector have pledged themselves against Truman, there is little or no chance of Alabama supporting the president.

And there's where the big question comes. Suppose Mr. Truman wins the Democratic nomination? Then who gets Alabama's 11 electoral votes?

The Advertiser

Gov. Folsom has offered himself as a candidate for the Democratic nomination. He has said nothing of an independent party or ticket. In fact, he has said time and again that a party bolt would be ill-advised. He wants the South to stay in the national party.

Montgomery, Ala

Here are four courses open to Alabama and the South:

1. Stay in the national Democratic party and supports its candidate.

2. Join either the Republican party or Henry Wallace's third party.

3. Offer an independent candidate for the presidency.

4. Stay out of the election altogether and not cast electoral votes for any candidate.

Alabama has a law now which says its presidential electors must support the party nominee. Alabama's electors will be Democrats, but McCorvey says there's no connection between Alabama Democrats and National Democrats.

The Advertiser

The State Supreme Court is studying this law now and will issue an advisory opinion as to its legality.

Montgomery, Ala

Meanwhile, former Lieut. Gov. Handy Ellis, a candidate for delegate at large to the Democratic National Convention, predicted that President Truman will not be renominated.

Sun,

Ellis, Columiana attorney, said he expected the President "will be eliminated as a nominee" but added that he thought the State Democratic Executive Committee "should be called together to consider further the state's position in the event Truman is nominated."

3-28-48

"I shall, at the convention," Ellis said, "support for presidential and vice-presidential nominee only those who are in accord with the Southern view on racial matters and a civil rights program."

At Decatur, Ben Bloodworth, Decatur Daily editor and a candidate for presidential elector, issued a statement in which he said:

All-Out Voting

"Now that Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the Alabama State Democratic Executive Committee, has explained that no Democratic voter need hesitate to vote in the May primary because of opposition to President Truman's force bills, I trust there will be an out-pouring of Democratic ballots in the May primary.

"Alabama has taken the lead in opposing the President and his anti-South program and as one of those candidates for presidential elector pledged to vote against him, I am proud of the part my state has played and is playing in the fight against further encroachment upon state's rights.

"However, the hands of our convention delegates and presidential elector would be strengthened by a tremendous vote in the primary. We need to show all of the nation that we are in earnest as a united people against any has in mind to insure Truman's defeat and all who undertake to override Southern traditions for the sake of a few Negro votes in doubtful states. . ."

THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

Montgomery, Ala
Sun 3-28-48

To some degree, the electoral college represents archaic powers such as that possessed by the King of England. The King of England literally owns the Royal Navy. He could therefore order the Navy to steam up into the North Sea and scuttle itself. The King couldn't hope to repeat the per-

Now that the South is in motion toward a revolt, there occurs a general awareness

In future elections can hope to win the South.

G. O. P. or Democratic Party —

formance, but he might get away with it once.

Through the electoral college the South today is thinking of throwing the election of the President of the United States into the House of Representatives.

Election of a President has been settled in the House three times in our history. The first time was in 1801 when neither Thomas Jefferson nor Aaron Burr received the required majority of electoral votes cast. Jefferson won on the 36th ballot.

The second time occurred in 1825 when John Quincy Adams prevailed—in one ballot—over Andrew Jackson and William H. Crawford. Advertiser

The third, last and most famous time occurred in the wake of the Civil War and grew out of Federal bayonets in South Carolina, Louisiana and Florida, each of which certified two slates of electors to Washington. That was 1876, the contest of Hayes-Tilden. Montgomery, Ala

Sun. 1-29-48

LONG before the present rebellion was incited by Truman's Civil Disturbance proposal, some Southerners had been making scholarly studies of how the antiquated electoral college system might be employed as a shield.

One such was Charles Wallace Collins, a native of Hale County, a graduate of Auburn and a "Southerner of the Black Belt." Collins did graduate work at the University of Chicago and Harvard and settled in the East. That he is learned at the law and a man of parts is attested by his career as law librarian of Congress, librarian of the U. S. Supreme Court, general counsel for the Bureau of the Budget, etc. He has even been quoted by the Supreme Court, an uncommon distinction.

Collins in 1947 was out with a book, "Whither Solid South?" The last chapter solves our racial problem by resettling our colored element in a 49th state located in Africa, but in legal and historical matters relating to our dilemmas, Collins is sound and performs as a scholar.

Collins wrote the book over a four-year period:

"This book arose out of my concern for the South because its people are complacent, inarticulate and casual about these questions, but when aroused are capable of sudden and violent action."

THIS is what Collins contemplates when he thinks of throwing an election into the House of Representatives:

. . . Two methods suggest themselves. Each, however, presupposes the reorganization of the Democratic Party in the South into a regional party. . . . There are a total of 531 votes in the electoral college. A majority is necessary to elect a President, that is to say, 266 votes.

The Solid South has a minmum of 127 votes and might upon occasion poll 43 additional or a total of 170. The minimum Southern vote would leave 404 votes in the electoral college north of the Mason & Dixon Line and in the four border states of Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri and Oklahoma.

To be elected President of the U. S. it would be necessary for the candidate to receive all but 138 of these votes. If the South polled its maximum strength of 170 votes, there would be left north of the M. & D. Line only 361 votes and the successful candidate would have to carry all except 95.

In case of a split on national policies between the East and West . . . the South would walk into the college with sufficient strength to put her candidate forward for President on the floor of the House of Representatives.

In all such elections by the House, each state has only one vote and it takes a majority of the states to elect, namely, 25. The South would have from 11 to 15 votes, leaving in the North from 33 to 37 votes to be divided between the two northern parties.

The South would hold the balance of power and the bargaining power that goes with it. Under the Constitution, only the three persons who hold the first, second and third places in the votes cast in the college are eligible for election to the Presidency by the House. Consequently, a candidate of the Southern party would always be eligible, assuming that it would always rank at least third in strength. A northern deadlock could lead to the election of a Southern President. . . .

A variation of this plan might be considered. Instead of having a summer convention to nominate candidates, let the states appoint their electors in November and leave them uninstructed. Between the date of their appointment and he meeting of the electoral college in December, call a convention of the Southern electors and agree upon candidates for President and Vice-President and adopt a platform. At the time of such a meeting the facts about the northern election would be known—who won and by what strength and whether either party could control the electoral college. . . .

SOMETHING of the kind might work once like King George scuttling the Royal Navy, but it could scarcely happen again.

Keeping One's Head

A poet once said that if you could keep your head when those about you were losing theirs, then you were a man indeed. We need men in Alabama today, for some persons seem to be losing their heads. The News 3-26-48

Some persons are making use of the uncertainties and fears of the times to stampede other persons into making promises and commitments which time may prove to be unwise. They are taking advantage of an emotional state to bring pressure upon men who should stand firm.

The News commends the stand of Circuit Judge Roy Mayhall, of Jasper, and of the other candidates for presidential elector who refused to say now what they, if elected, would do in December on a matter that is still to be settled in the courts. Judge Mayhall has too much respect for the law to commit himself now to a course that might be declared illegal. Birmingham, Ala.

We commend also the forthright attitude of Charles G. Dobbins, of Montgomery, who saw "no reason to deposit my vote in anybody's pocket." We hope there will be many more like him among the candidates for delegate to the party convention, men who will go there free from any promises or pledges except those they have made to their consciences and to the voters.

We are in favor, most heartily, of candidates making their stands clear on all issues troubling the people, of their saying what they will do in certain situations, and of what they will not do. More than that we believe highly unwise and undesirable. Let the contract be between the candidates and the voters, and not between the candidates and self-appointed scaremongers playing upon the highstrung and in many ways overstrung emotions of the times. 3-26-48

Matter Of Fact

Advertiser

By JOSEPH AND STEWART ALSOP

WASHINGTON.

FOR the first time, practical Southern politicians are talking seriously about the end of the one-party system in the South. This is, of course, the result of the Southern rebellion against President Truman, and more particularly the rebellion's bi-product, the Virginia bill allowing the State's representatives in the electoral College to cast their ballots as they choose. Montgomery, Ala

The resurrection of this antiquated constitutional device will allow Southerners to express both sides of their politically split personalities. They will be able to continue to vote as Democrats, yet to avoid assisting in the election of the Democratic Party's national candidates.

The trick is simple, and it is already appealing to conservative Southerners outside Virginia. South Carolina and Mississippi are definitely expected to pass bills of their own on the Virginia model. This holds out the pretty definite likelihood that Truman will lose the 28 Electoral College votes represented by Virginia, South Carolina and Mississippi. The number is not great, compared to the 531 vote total of the Electoral College. Yet it is quite enough to decide a close election. And it is also possible that other Southern States will follow the Virginia road. 1-29-48 Sun.

IN SHORT, the development has very great significance, both long and short range. The short-range significance lies, of course, in the effects on the coming election previously outlined. With Wallace in the race, with his Palestine policy haunting him like a cruel ghost, there is no doubt that Truman is done for if he loses anything in the South. Losses in the South are now quite probable. The foundations of Truman's strength have crumbled, and that is all there is to it.

Furthermore, even if the present movement is headed off, and the Southern electoral votes are in the end all racked up for Truman, there are still other dangers to overcome. It has already been published that Senator Harry F. Byrd, after first expressing distaste, has now become inclined to let his name be presented as a presidential candidate. Besides Byrd, moreover, there is Senator Walter F. George, who would command even wider Southern support. He is also giving signs of willingness to let himself be proposed to the Democratic convention.

As far as the convention is concerned, the Southern strategy will be to send uncommitted delegations, and to fight initially for a weasel-worded civil rights plank. The President's political representatives were at first inclined to concede such a plank in order to pacify the Southern rebels. But Truman balked at swallowing every word he had said on the subject of civil rights. The Southern governors were turned away empty handed when they called on the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Senator J. Howard McGrath. Now, therefore, the Southerners are more likely to be driven to the second stage of their convention plan, which is to nominate George or Byrd or both as rivals to Truman.

Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala.

EVENTS are almost certain to intensify the South's itch to make trouble at the convention, and to go through, thereafter, with the Virginia scheme for depriving Truman of Southern electoral votes. The fair employment practices, anti-lynching and anti-poll tax bills will all shortly come up for Senate votes. They will pass if the Senate applies cloture to halt filibusters. On the last test, on the F. E. P. C., cloture was defeated in the Senate by a vote of only 39 to 33, with six Republicans, Senators Bridges, Guerney, Milliken, Moore, White and Young voting against, and Hawkes and Bushfield paired against. Sun. 1-29-48

This year, the election and the temptation to make trouble for Truman are powerful persuaders to induce these anti-cloture Republican senators to change their votes. Enough switches are expected among them to pass at least the anti-poll tax bill, probably the F. E. P. C., and possibly the anti-lynching bill. Passage of these three pieces of legislation will drive the Southern white supremacy shouters to extremes of every kind, both of oratory and of action.

The Virginia bill returning to the State's presidential electors the right of free choice which the Constitution originally intended for them may simply hurt Truman at first. But it will also have the long-range effect of separating the forward looking and backward looking Southerners into two different political parties. This is really now almost inevitable at last.

For the abortive revolt in this pattern in 1944 of Texas and Mississippi caused a number of resolutions proposing abolition of the electoral college system to be introduced in Congress in 1945. They were reintroduced in the 80th Congress. They ... heard us the first time.

(C), 1948, New York Herald Tribune, Inc.

Paste It In Your Hat

The Record Columbia, S.C. Fri. 3-12-48

Says the Charleston News and Courier:

"By electing eight members of the electoral college with authority to vote for neither the Republican or the Democratic party candidate for president but for another candidate, with the aim of causing the election of president to be by the House of Representatives, the people of South Carolina would have everything to gain, nothing to lose. In an election by the House, South Carolina and New York each would have one vote. No man in office in South Carolina is likely now to tell the South Carolinians that they should have equal power with New York in electing a president, notwithstanding that they say that the state is threatened by both national parties."

Clip this out and paste it in your hat until the presidential election results are in November and then reread it and decide for yourself how much, if anything, South Carolina could have gained from following The News and Courier's suggestion.

The Record Columbia, S.C. Fri. 3-12-48

In The Nation

Electoral Votes Are Subject to State Powers

The Times Fri. 2-27-48

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, Feb. 26—Nothing in the Constitution or in any high court ruling thus far interposes a legal bar to the proposal of Governor Tuck to the Virginia Legislature that Presidential electors chosen by the popular majority in November shall be free to vote for any citizens they may wish for President and Vice President. And the Act of Feb. 3, 1887, specifically makes each state the absolute and final judge in any dispute that may arise over how its electoral vote shall be cast. 2-27-48

Virginia's Position

Whichever candidates for elector Virginia or any other state may choose in 1948 are not legally bound to support the nominees of any national political convention. They are not morally bound unless they pledge such action in advance, which is the prevailing custom, and this moral obligation is the stronger when the names of the electoral candidates appear on ballots that also carry the names of the candidates of one of the national party conventions. Governor Tuck's proposal, if accepted by the Virginia Legislature, will clinch the electors' legal right of free choice by omitting from the state's ballots the names of the national convention nominees. In many states these do not appear anyhow, but in Virginia they do; hence the law requiring this must be repealed to assist the Governor's purpose. The Times

Its larger design, of course, is to withhold the electoral votes of Virginia from the Democratic national candidates, if desired, and yet permit a set of electors to be chosen who belong to the Democratic party and have been nominated by the party organization in the state. The design will be plainly stated to the voters of Virginia, and, if they favor it by giving a majority to such a slate of candidates for elector, the moral obligation will be wiped out and every constitutional and statutory requirement be met. New York, N.Y.

The 1912 Precedent

The clearest precedent is to be found in South Dakota in 1912. There the Republican organization seceded from the national party convention before President Taft had been renominated, and its candidates for elector announced that if chosen in November they would register the state for Theodore Roosevelt, the Bull Moose party candidate (no Bull Moose electoral slate having been nominated). In that knowledge the voters chose the Republican candidates for elector over the Democratic, and South Dakota's vote was cast for Roosevelt without the slightest challenge of legality. Not a letter in the Constitution offered support for a challenge, and the Act of Feb. 3, 1887, allowed no room for it at all. The Times

The present majority of the Supreme Court might entertain a plea against the Virginia plan, if it proceeds to a full climax, but on some basis which no legal student of these matters, consulted by this correspondent today, could conceive. It might find some way to order state electors to cast their votes for the national candidates of the party with which they are locally affiliated, even though the final state power under the act of 1887 had previously been invoked to bind the electors otherwise. If the names of such national candidates had appeared on the same ballot with the successful candidates for elector (which Governor Tuck proposes to forestall in Virginia, and other Southern governors will follow suit), the Supreme Court might have some footing, though the authorities canvassed today do not think so. But they are unanimous in the opinion that, if the names of the convention candidates do not so appear, the Supreme Court would have no jurisdiction and could not enforce an order even if one was issued. New York, N.Y. 2-27-48

Southern Threat Materialized

This legal situation, the consequence of retaining the archaic system of directly electing Presidential and Vice Presidential electors instead of party nominees, renders Governor Tuck's message of the highest importance and materializes the threat of Southern Democrats to prevent the election of President Truman if he is nominated. If several other states join in the Virginia plan, as they are expected to do, the Democratic organizations which are sure to carry them can, as in 1824, throw the Presidential election into the House if the contest elsewhere is close. In the House they would then have a veto on the candidates for President, and this would undoubtedly be used against President Truman if he is nominated on the civil rights platform which is the immediate occasion of the Southern Democratic revolt. But if elsewhere there is a landslide either way the ultimate effect of the movement is not calculable in advance except that it would not transfer the Presidential choice to the House.

The Problem

The Times New York, N.Y.

The possibility of a Democratic landslide elsewhere, however, is so remote that Governor Tuck's proposal is accepted by all politicians as the grave development it is.

Bolting, especially in the South, has meant oblivion for Democratic leaders, but on those occasions the organizations were regular. Half-bolting, which this move would be, supported by the organizations, would be a very different matter. 2-27-48

If Virginia and other states adopt the electoral plan, the chief problem of the Democratic organizations will be how to send delegations to the national party convention and yet remain morally unbound by the decisions of its majority, like the South Dakota Republicans in 1912.

Proposed Virginia Law Is Viewed With Alarm

The News Birmingham, Ala. Mon. 3-1-48

WASHINGTON, March 1—(NANA) — The Southern revolt against President Truman ran into scattered but determined opposition for the first time Saturday. Many Democrats looked with alarm at the new presidential election law proposed to the State Legislature at Richmond by Gov. William M. Tuck.

Party insurgents hailed the Tuck proposal as the spearhead of the drive to bar Mr. Truman from the ballot in November. They prophesied that Gov. Tuck's plan would serve as the pattern for action by other Southern states. But some Virginians expressed regret that the governor had pursued a course which they feel must lead to a nationwide demand for a constitutional amendment abolishing the electoral college and providing for the direct popular election of the president and vice president.

THE NEW LAW, passage of which is regarded as a virtual certainty, would work as follows:

Virginians going to the polls in November would be permitted to chose between two slates of presidential electors—one Democratic, the other Republican. These electors would be pledged in advance to vote in the Electoral College for the presidential nominees of their respective parties.

Their pledges would be broken, however, if they received contrary instructios from state party officials in Virginia. Such contrary instructions—binding upon the electors—could be given either by the state convention, or merely by a committee named by the state convention for that purpose.

THUS, if President Truman were to be renominated by the Democratic National Convention at Philadelphia, and if a committee of the state convention decided to instruct the Democratic presidential electors in Virginia to cast their vote for Sen. Harry F. Byrd, for example, there would be no way by which a Virginia voter, going to the polls in November, could vote for Mr. Truman if he wished. 2-1-48

Moreover, if the state convention, or its committee, did not instruct the electors until after election day, voters in the Old Dominion would have no way of knowing what Democratic candidate they were voting for. Birmingham, Ala.

Finally, the proposed law would bar Henry Wallace's third-party ticket from the ballot completely, so that no one wishing to vote for it may do so. The News

ALL THIS, OF COURSE, is bound to focus national attention upon a little-understood gimmick in the Federal Constitution. The truth is that the Federal Constitution does not give the people of the United States any direct vote whatever in the selection of a president or vice president. Mon. 3-1-48

Article 8, Section 1, provides merely that each state shall "appoint" its presidential electors in whatever manner may be determined by the Legislature of that state. The News

In actual practice, however, these presidential electors are chosen in every state by a direct of the people. They are pledged in advance to vote in the Electoral College for a specific individual for the presidency. Birmingham, Ala.

Thus, by custom and tradition, the people—for a century and a half—have controlled the selection of their president, while the presidential electors, who actually vote him into office, are merely puppets who exercise no real choice in the matter.

To destroy this custom and tradition, as Tuck's proposal threatens to do, would—in the opinion of many of his own supporters—might lead to a chaotic condition that could be remedied only by an amendment to the Federal Constitution abolishing the electoral system.

Misreading The Gossett Amendment

The Times Leader

The Charleston News and Courier, with unanimously by a House judiciary sub-committee clares. "They believe in democracy. They its especial genius for going hayw ire, has week before last. are convinced that the great cities should apparently miscread the proposed Gossett A proposal to abolish the electoral college be masters of the 'nation.' Montana, Veramendment to the constitution to change the was. The News and Courier says, to be ex-

electoral college system, approved

mont, Wyoming, Maine, Nevada, Iowa, South Carolina, Arkansas are obstacles in their path. Tues. 2-16-48

"The Great City states, we say, are democratic. Cities dominate them . . . Were the city states, with their city democracies to succeed in destroying the republic by breaking down the constitution upon which it has rested with relative safety since 1789, the Vermonters, the Dakotans, the South Carolinians of all races, would learn what it is to be exploited even more than they are . . .

"The recommendation is the first open, frank declaration of the powerful states against the smaller states that has been published. They are loyal to the American nation and disloyal to the American republic. They fear, therefore hate, the republic of the constitution." Tues. 3-16-48

But the Gossett amendment preserves the electoral college division of votes and therefore the power of the smaller states. It provides simply that each state's electoral vote instead of going entirely to the candidate who obtains a plurality of the votes in that state shall be divided, in proportion to the percentage of votes cast for each in the state, among all the candidates. It preserves everything that The News and Courier wants preserved except the practical fiction that the electors select a president. That, the amendment provides, should be the job of the voters in the states.

Anti-Truman Bill Gets Wide Vote In Virginia House

Wed. 3-11-48

RICHMOND, VA., March 9.—(AP)—The Virginia House of Delegates Tuesday gave an overwhelming 74 to 25 majority to Governor Tuck's amended anti-Truman bill and sent it to the Senate.

The eight Republican members joined with 16 Democrats against it. The only member not voting was Delegate Samuel D. Rodgers, of Petersburg, who is ill.

The amended bill has one main feature. It permits a State Democratic Convention to throw Virginia's 11 electoral votes for president and vice president to someone else if the state party doesn't like the candidates and platform chosen by the Democratic National Convention.

The bill—Governor Tuck's answer to President Truman's civil rights program—was debated for three hours and forty minutes before the House voted. Administration spokesmen made no effort to limit debate.

The original Tuck bill would have kept President Truman's name off the ballot in the event he is nominated and opposed by a Virginia Democratic Convention. The amended bill, however, would permit the Truman candidacy, or the candidates of any other party, to get on the ballot on petition of any 1,000 voters. Wed. 3-10-48

McCorvey Proposes State Pick Electors To Beat Truman Plan

The News Birmingham, Ala.
Thurs. 2-26-48

MOBILE, Ala., Feb 26—(AP)—Alabama's veteran Democratic Party leader has proposed that this state combat President Truman's civil rights program by qualifying as presidential electors men "who firmly believe in the doctrine of states' rights."

Gessner T. McCorvey, the party leader, said he was suggesting the plan of action at the request of Gov. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina. He recommended that other Southern states follow the plan. The News

He said these candidate for electors should announce in advance of the Alabama Democratic primary May 4 they would refuse to support any presidential nominee who did not stand for states' rights on such issues as race segregation, poll tax laws, anti-lynching laws and state FEPC.

Birmingham, Ala.

IN THE EVENT the Democratic National Convention adopted a platform embodying the president's civil rights program, McCorvey said the presidential electors could cast their votes "for some outstanding Democrat of the type of Sen. Byrd of Virginia or Sen. George of Georgia." Thurs. 2-26-48

Such a plan, McCorvey said, would follow the strategy outlined by Sen. Eastland. of Mississippi. This strategy calls for the South to withhold its electoral votes from the Democratic Party nominee and throw the election into the House of Representatives.

* * *

"IF THE NORTHERN DEMOCRATS write a platform which we are unwilling to adopt, and one which is offensive to the South, and a platform which does not come out clearly for the doctrine of states' rights, I think the Southern delegates should walk out of the convention," he said.

"Our presidential elector then would cast their votes for a real Democrat of the states' rights type. I would not wish for our Southern delegates to the Democratic National Convention to take any part in nominating a candidate for president unless we intended to support such a candidate."

McCorvey, a Mobile attorney, said he saw no hope for the South in the Republican Party and that "the very name 'Republican' is objectionable to Southern Democrats."

VIRGINIA ---NS ACT TO 'FREE' ELECTORS

Gov. Tuck Reported Ready to Ask New Law as South's 'Revolt' on Rights Grows

New York, N.Y.

By CLAYTON KNOWLES

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 24 — Governor William F. Tuck of Virginia will take first direct action in the revolt against the Truman Administration that is surging through the South by asking the State legislature to rewrite the law to permit selection of uninstructed presidential electors. Wed 2-25-48

The request will be embodied in a special message to the Legislature on Thursday, it was learned today. Speedy adoption of the proposal is forecast, largely on the basis of the fact that Governor Tuck is proceeding with the full approval of Senator Harry F. Byrd, powerful leader of the Virginia Democratic organization.

Events to Determine Vote

The action is construed as just another indication that the solid Democratic South, its long-smouldering resentment at treatment by the national party organization whipped into flame by the President's civil rights message, wants the door left open for a walkout at the national convention if the turn of events calls for it. The proposed action in Virginia is expected to be followed in other Southern states. In that event, Southern delegates, announcing that they would be bound by none of the actions of the convention, could proceed to nominate their own ticket and have the unpledged southern electors vote for it.

Governor Tuck's office at Richmond refused to confirm or deny the proposed move, but Carter Lowance, the Governor's secretary, said it "would not be amiss" to say that the message would deal with the civil rights issue.

The Governor's proposal, it is understood, will be that electors of the state organization run on the ballot without designation or pledge so that their vote in the Electoral College itself may be determined by events. If steadfast elements within the party seek electors pledged directly to the nominee of the Democratic National Convention, they would have to run such a slate completely independent of the state organization. The Times

Other developments in the wake of the unrewarding visit of Southern Governors with Senator J. Howard McGrath on the subject of civil rights proposals were these: New York, N.Y.

Governors J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Ben T. Laney of Arkansas conferred with a group of Southern Senators in the office of Senator John L. McClellan of Arkansas on the "advisability of a different nominee for President than Mr. Truman." It was reported conversation proceeded "in a general way," that specific alternative names were not advanced. Wed. 2-25-48

Senator McClellan, asserting that President Truman has "thrown away his chances of re-election," said he favored nomination of Senator Byrd. Mr. Byrd declined comment.

Senator Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina asserted that he thought the South should fight for the nomination of Secretary of State George C. Marshall "or some other good Democrat." Before assuming his present office, however, Mr. Marshall specifically said: "I will never become involved in political matters and therefore I cannot be considered a candidate for political office."

Georgia Action Pleasing

Still a further development heartening to rebellious Southerners was the action of the Georgia Supreme Court in upholding control of the state Democratic machinery by Talmadge forces.

How To Elect?

"Our electoral system permits and invites irresponsible domination by small organized minority groups in the large pivotal states."—Rep. Ed Gossett.

Record

One human being, all by himself, could conceivably, by changing his vote next November, swing the 47 electoral votes of the great state of New York, with its 14,000,000 population, from the Republican to the Democratic presidential nominee. Or visa versa. Suppose that human being should be Walter White? Or Leo Isacson? One human being might change his vote and swing Pennsylvania's 35 electoral votes. Suppose it should be John L. Lewis. One might change Illinois' 28, one Ohio's 25. And four human beings, with a change of votes, might determine the whole block of 135 electoral votes possessed by these four biggest states. In most cases that would decide the national presidential election.

Columbia S. C.

This is what Representative Ed Gosset and others are talking about when they propose to eliminate the system that gives a state's entire electoral vote to the party obtaining a popular majority, no matter how small that majority may be. Without changing the number of electoral votes belonging to each state, it is proposed that this electoral vote of each state be divided on a basis of the popular vote. If 40 per cent of New York's popular vote next November should be Democratic and 60 per cent Republican, the 47 electoral votes of New York would be divided proportionately, 28 Republican, 19 Democratic.

3-13-48

This would avoid the situation in which the electoral vote of our greatest state is capable of being swung by one or another of the minority groups that center in New York City.

In this way, too, would be avoided the situation which lets Secretary White, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, beset that the mere 3,000,000 Negroes outside the South exercise a balance of power now in 17 doubtful states and will determine the presidential election this year. His claim is immensely exaggerated but it reflects a system which does indeed give such excessive political weight to this small minority that we have the present spectacle of both parties falling over themselves to please it at the expense of the South.

Sat. 12-13-47

The other side to Representative Gossett's proposal, and one to which he, as a leader of the present southern revolt move, will surely be giving consideration, is that: To divide the electoral vote on a basis of the popular vote in each state would mean that there would be no Solid South in the electoral total. Republicans in these states would have enough popular votes to qualify for some of the electoral votes. Would the loss of Southern unity in national elections cost these states more in national bargaining power by the Northern Negro? It is something to think about. Offhand, it would seem that the Gossett proposal, even though it would divide the South, would so divide other states that it would take far more of bargaining power from the northern Negro than from the South. Sat 3-13-48

Included in Mr. Gossett's bill, but not indispensible to it, is a provision to abolish the electoral college, even though retaining the electoral vote. The election would be settled by the popular vote in November, but that vote would be divided on the electoral vote basis. Representative Gosset could eliminate this provision and get the same major effect of doing away with government by small minorities. The South needs the electoral college. It needs the right the Constitution gives it of throwing a presidential election into the House of Representatives on great occasion.

Candidates, Issues Mixed Up

By ELMO ROPER

At times these days one wonders how in the world the electorate can't make up its mind either for whom or for what it is being asked to vote. The chief trouble is to figure out who is running against what.

Mr. Truman, for example, is not really running against Mr. Dewey, but instead has pitted himself against the Republican Congress. In fact, Mr. Truman the candidate is not Mr. Truman at all. He is a symbol of the liberal stand the Democratic party has taken on civil rights, price control and other issues. The strategy of the Democratic high command is to convince the people to vote for issues instead of for candidates.

Mr. Dewey, on the other hand, is running against something entirely different. He might well be described as running against Harry Truman the candidate and as running away from the Republican Congress.

In a way we are witnessing a chase: Dewey is chasing Truman and at the same time trying to ignore the Republican Congress. Truman is chasing the Republican Congress and pretending he doesn't see Dewey. Henry Wallace is running along behind saying that Truman and Dewey are really the same person—and what looks like a Truman-Dewey race is really only an optical illusion.

How the voters will arrive at a decision this November is almost as curious as the race itself. The latest Fortune presidential survey sheds some light on why various voters are for Dewey or for Truman.

* * *

REASONS WHY VOTERS prefer Dewey are given as:

—He has been a good governor and district attorney.

—People want a change in administration.

—Don't like Truman as well as Dewey.

—Dewey is a Republican.

—He is more able.

—He has more executive ability.

—He is more aggressive.

—He is more intelligent.

—He is more straightforward.

—He is a younger man.

Interestingly enough, Dewey supporters believe they are voting for a man, not an issue. Unless, of course, "being a Republican" or its being "time for a change" can be called issues. It's clear that, in the minds of those 46.3 per cent of the voters who prefer Dewey, they are going to cast their lot with "an able, aggressive, intelligent, straightforward, young" man. What Dewey will be "able, aggressive, intelligent, or straightforward" about, they didn't say.

The picture is equally interesting in regard to Truman.

* * *

REASONS WHY VOTERS prefer Truman include:

—Now is not the time to change horses

—He is a Democrat

—He is for the working class, the common man

—He deserves a chance to continue

—He is a well-meaning man

—Don't like Dewey as well

—Fear another depression with the Republicans

—He has followed the Roosevelt tradition

—Like his civil rights program

—He'd do well if it weren't for unco-operative Congress.

By and large, those 31.5 per cent who say they want Truman are voting for an issue, not a man. They talk about their candidate in terms of civil rights, avoiding another depression, standing for the common man, the Roosevelt tradition. They do say their man is well-meaning and deserves a chance to continue, but their real intensity is aroused over the issues they think he stands for. How these stands would be carried out—if at all—they didn't say.

* * *

AS OF TODAY, this seems to be a confusing kind of chase, with each candidate running against anything except his real opponent and what he stands for.

But if Dewey has the people behind him who want to vote for the man, and if Truman has backing from those who want to vote for the issues, then it is possible that before November 2 the whole nature of the campaign will have changed. For a Dewey who stood for an issue would seem likely to pick up some of the Truman supporters. And a Truman who became a personality would seem likely to win over some of the Dewey followers.

Maybe the campaign will straighten out as the battle becomes heightened. But at the moment it looks less like a race for the presidency of the United States and more like something Rube Goldberg might have pieced together.

Descent To Demagogy

The political campaign is getting on to a start that is different in at least one respect from the usual pattern. Most campaigns, if our memory is correct, begin on a relatively high plane and sink toward political depravity only at the end of their course. Mr. Oscar Ewing, Federal Security administrator, has descended right to the bottom of the trough in his first oratorical effort for the Democratic candidate.

Mr. Ewing spoke in Richmond last Thursday at the annual conference of the National Urban League, an interracial organization that has carefully eschewed politics in the 38 years of its efforts for Negro betterment. A Republican victory, he ominously warned, "will wipe out every vestige of social and economic progress which the American Negro has made during the past decade and a half." This is the sort of claptrap that many politicians indulge in. It has little effect except on the speaker's own reputation. The administrator went a good deal further down, however, when he declared that "every Negro that loves his race should be fighting for the reelection of President Truman." Any Negro who votes otherwise, Mr. Ewing said, is "betraying his race." This, it seems to us, is not so much an appeal for votes as it is a demand that Negro citizens vote en bloc as Negroes, putting the interests of their race—as Mr. Ewing interprets those interests—ahead of any other interests of citizenship or of the general welfare.

We do not for a moment suppose that Negro voters will not and should not take into consideration the advantages they may suppose accrue to them from having Mr. Truman in the White House, or vice versa. That is but natural to the members of any group having the common interests of a minority. But an outright appeal to race as the sole justification for partisan support is quite another thing. Mr. Ewing's demagoguery is so reprehensible as to merit the repudiation it will surely get—if not from the Democratic leadership at least from the Negro leadership.

Truman, Dewey Lock Horns On Atomic Issue

Henry Wallace Gets In Cross-Fire, Claims Vinson Episode Credit

By The Associated Press

An atomic dispute sizzled in the election battle today as President Truman and Gov. Thomas E. Dewey fired new campaign charges.

Mr. Truman was ballot-bound through Indiana after a Milwaukee address in which he said his Republican presidential foe "implies" there ought to be "private exploitation" of atomic energy.

The New York governor meanwhile moved his vote hunt into Minnesota for Kansas City where he blasted the Democratic administration as too "tired" and "confused" to provide "good government."

Dewey spoke on atomic matters three weeks ago in Phoenix, Ariz. He said then that eventually the "dead hand of government" must be lifted from atomic development—but that the present government monopoly must be continued until enforceable world controls are clamped on atomic weapons.

HENRY WALLACE also got into the atomic cross-fire at Milwaukee. The Progressive Party's presidential candidate claimed credit for giving Mr. Truman his now-abandoned idea of sending Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson to Moscow to talk about the "atomic problem."

Wallace said that two weeks ago he demanded a resumption of negotiations with Russia and that when the people took up his demand, Mr. Truman was "forced" to make the Vinson assignment. But, Wallace added, the "real masters" of our foreign policy—"the big brass and the big gold"—"clamped down and stopped Mr. Truman's move."

The president told his Milwaukee audience that Dewey showed a "dangerous lack of understanding" in bringing the subject of atomic energy into the political arena.

"It is clear from the comments of of the Republican candidate," Mr. Truman added, "that powerful and selfish groups within the Republican Party are determined to exploit the atom for private profit."

Negro To Run For Council In Charleston

CHARLESTON, Sept. 25.—(UP)—A Negro announced today he was a candidate for the Charleston county council.

A. J. Clements, Jr., 40, paid his $100 entry fee to the county Democratic executive committee and said he wanted to be elected "so Negroes would get some representation in the governmental affairs of their county.

Clements formerly was president of the state progressive Democratic party, a Negro political organization. He is a graduate of John C. Smith college, Raleigh, N. C.

DO WE WANT TO TAKE A CHANCE ON MR. BARKLEY AS PRESIDENT?

If the average citizen knew Thomas E. Dewey and Harry S. Truman as well as he does his next door neighbor or his foreman at the plant, there would be no question in his mind as to how he should vote in the November election.

We cannot get that close to either of them, but we can look at their records.

Mr. Dewey is the first Republican governor of New York in 20 years and he was re-elected in 1946 by the largest majority (687,000) in the history of the State.

He is the only Republican who has ever served two terms as governor.

In 1944, he ran against the great war President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and polled 22 million votes to F.D.R.'s 25 million.

That election was so close that Dewey earned another chance this year to place his name before the voters.

His party reasoned, and, we think, correctly, that if he came close to defeating a united Democratic party in 1944, he should easily beat a Democratic party which has split into two sections.

United, the Democratic party won the Presidential election of 1944. Divided, it is bound to fail in 1948.

ATTACKS UPON CONGRESS

Disunity in the Democratic party has been widened by President Truman's attacks upon Congress, which he has called the worst since 1866.

A little over half of Congress is Republican. Repeatedly, over two-thirds of Congress, including many Democrats, opposed the President's measures in Congress and overrode his veto upon important legislation.

Over one-third of Congress goes out of office as a result of this election so that even if the country should re-elect Mr. Truman he would still face a Congress he has made hostile by inept handling and name calling.

Governor Dewey, a Republican, has never had to work with a Democratic legislature in New York.

He and his Republican-controlled legislature have not always agreed, but there was no calling of names, no odious comparisons.

When Mr. Dewey was inaugurated he said: "The first duty of a governor is to get along with the legislature."

If Mr. Truman had the same conception of government, he would not be in the present mess.

TEAMWORK IN GOVERNMENT

Take one issue alone:—civil rights. When Governor Dewey appointed a commission to study civil rights and recommended new laws, he included on the commission the Speaker of the House, the President of the State Senate and leaders of both chambers.

When Mr. Dewey's civil rights bills came before the New York legislature, there was strong objection but the governor carried the legislature with him.

On the other hand, President Truman appointed a Civil Rights Commission to which he named not a single member of the Senate or House, and both bodies declined to work with the President on this desirable legislation.

In party leadership and in the handling of Congress, Mr. Truman has made mistakes which would be easily avoided by an experienced administrator like Governor Dewey.

BARKLEY AS PRESIDENT

Millions of people who voted for Mr. Roosevelt for President were shocked when they realized that they had put Mr. Truman in the White House.

Nobody has mentioned it, but what a risk we take in electing a ticket which carries the name of Alben W. Barkley as Vice-President.

A Vice-President is named because there is always a chance that the President, through accident, illness or other act of God, may not complete his term.

Can AFRO readers imagine what would happen to minority groups if the Senator from Kentucky should thus become President?

Dropped Candidacy After His Talk With 'Lord,' Grocer Says

By JOHN A. DIAZ
(Courier Florida Bureau)

MIAMI—Perrine, a farming town, eighteen miles from here, was in high tension last week as Ben Shavis, a well-known Negro grocer, who was a candidate for City Commissioner, allegedly mysteriously left town, with Republicans charging that he was forced to withdraw his candidacy and leave town because of death threats received from white people.

Shavis would have been surely elected to office as the registered Negro voters outnumber the whites 316 to 278 and could have been elected Mayor if he had received the largest number of votes, according to a precedent laid by previous elections.

"THE LORD" TOLD HIM

When Shavis returned to Perrine from his trip to Hastings, Fla., he gave as his reason for withdrawing from the city commissioner race that he had talked with the Lord and the Lord had told him to withdraw.

Those in the know, however, opined that Ben Shavis had been threatened with violence if he continued his efforts to be elected city commissioner.

The white people of Perrine denied that any responsible person had intimidated Shavis and made him leave town and withdraw his candidacy. They took radio time last week to remove the blot from the name of their fair city.

When asked about the threat, Shavis said, "I didn't hear that until I got back."

FIND NO EVIDENCE

Republican leaders investigating a reported "drop out or die" threat, and Perrine officials who expressed surprise at the charges, admitted after a day's scouting that there was nothing concrete to go on.

Leonard Friedman, member of a three-man Republican committee, said the group had failed even to contact the Rev. A. D. Coleman, Negro Republican committeeman from Perrine, who reportedly first made the charges before the Republican headquarters club Monday night.

William C. Besselievre, assistant police chief of Perrine, conceded there had been "a few rumors floating around . . . on the white side.

"I heard this morning that somebody was pretty well lit up when he made certain remarks," the assistant chief said.

He added, however, that Shavis had reported nothing to any member of the Perrine police force, which consists of two white and three Negro policemen.

Mrs. Julia Wyatt, Perrine city clerk who took his withdrawal notice last Friday, quoted him as saying, "I talked it over with the Lord and the Lord told me to withdraw."

PRAISED BY WHITES

Bruce L. Barfield, Perrine city attorney and son of Perrine's Mayor, R. P. Barfield, praised Shavis as the leading Negro citizen of Perrine and said he had been of great help in the incorporation of the town in May. At that time Shavis ran ninth in a field of twelve Council candidates.

Barfield said an advisory Negro council, headed by Shavis, had been masterminding most of the municipal affairs affecting the large Negro community.

On the Negro council's recommendation and with the financial support of the Negro community, Barfield said, the new municipality had developed a Negro park, installed street lights in the Negro section and employed three Negro policemen, all in less than six months.

Interracial cooperation in community affairs, he emphasized, has been almost perfect in Perrine.

'By Their Fruits Ye Shall Know Them

Pittsburgh Pa. Courier - Sat 10-16-48

(The Democratic Side)

"By their fruits ye shall know them."

This is as true today as it was when it was spoken two thousand years ago. It is particularly true of politics where it is a common practice to ignore, after elections, the pre-election promises of candidates and commitments in party platforms. Deeds and not words are the only safe test in judging political candidates or parties.

In analyzing the Democratic side of this campaign, the party as well as the candidates must be scrutinized. For the Presidential candidate is merely the captain of his party's ship—he is not the entire crew. The combined strength of Democratic Senators, Congressmen and National Committeemen and other members of the crew are much more powerful than the President. Don't permit these Southern Democrats, who actually control the party, to be hidden during the campaign, only to appear after the election to plague and destroy all efforts for racial advancement.

Sat 10-16-48

President Truman's standing among Negroes rests almost entirely on words. He can point to very few official acts on their behalf. His appeal to Negroes is due to the dramatic settings in which his racial pronouncements were made. The Gallup Poll in June of this year showed that in Philadelphia only 21 per cent of the Negroes favored President Truman. The same poll, taken the first of August, revealed that 54 per cent of the Negroes of Philadelphia favored President Truman.

Yet, nothing has transpired between those dates, other than the statement of President Truman on civil liberties at the Democratic convention and that body's adoption of a strong civil liberties plank, the carrying out of which is utterly impossible for a Democratic party.

It is utterly impossible for the Democratic party to carry out a civil rights program because that party is now, and was at the time of the Democratic convention, under Southern control. Members of Congress, not delegates to a national convention, are the ones who must decide on laws pertaining to civil liberties. Delegates are through and have no official standing after they nominate Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates. Senator Eastland of Mississippi, Congressman Rankin of Mississippi and other Negro-haters did not rebel against the Democratic party and join the Dixiecrats because they know they have nothing to fear from civil liberties in the Democratic party, but because they control the party.

Any Negro who believes that his civil liberties can be advanced by a Democratic victory is the victim of a great delusion. For, of the 186 Democratic members of the House of Representatives, 105 are from the solid South, and of the forty-five Democratic Senators, twenty-two come from the eleven States of the solid South. The Democratic Senators and Representatives from such border States as Kentucky, Missouri, West Virginia and Maryland must be added to those of the solid South when it comes to racial issues.

Sat 10-16-48

Not only are Southerners in the majority in the Democratic party in both branches of Congress, they also hold, when the Democrats are victorious, most of the Congressional committee chairmanships. In the Congress which convened in 1945, the Senate had thirty-two standing committees, of which twenty-one were headed by Southerners. The House of Representatives had forty-eight standing committees with thirty Southern chairmen. The saying that "you vote to put Southern Democrats in power when you vote the Democratic ticket in the North in a national election," is absolutely true.

Southern control of the Democratic party is why that party has not passed one law for the particular benefit of Negroes in the fifteen years it has been in power during the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. In fact, the Democratic party in its entire history has never enacted a law which particularly benefited Negroes.

No Democratic President, regardless of how sincerely interested he may be, can be expected to obtain the enactment of civil rights laws through the Democratic party. But is President Truman sincerely interested in civil liberties for Negroes? It does not become Negroes to question too closely the motives of those in high public office who profess friendship for them, for they would be foolish to alienate any aid, as they are much in need of friends.

Nevertheless, in any important election, all the facts should be presented. President Truman in 1940 and again in 1944 publicly declared against social equality for Negroes. By social equality he meant the admission of Negroes in restaurants and other public places.

In 1943, as a United States Senator, President Truman voted against abolishing the poll tax.

Nowhere is racial segregation more offensive than in the armed forces of the Nation. President Truman, as Commander-in-Chief, could wipe out this degrading practice with one order. He has persistently refused to give that order. The Democratic party was in control of the administration for the city of Washington, D. C., for two years of President Truman's administration. Yet, not once did he, by word or deed, object to the insulting, obnoxious racial discrimination practiced by the city government in Washington. Nor has he, at any time since, said one word against racial discrimination in Washington, although his protest would carry greater weight than any other person. The President actually contributed to racial segregation in Washington when he crossed a picket line in front of the National Theatre which had been set up by the Actors' Guild because that theatre would not admit Negroes.

Sat 10-16-48

President Truman did not speak of civil liberties during the entire period that the Democratic party was in control of Congress. It was only after the Republican party had won control of Congress in the fall of 1947 that there is any record of the President saying a word concerning the civil liberties of Negroes.

The record of President Truman on Negro issues is not attractive. Yet, by a display of showmanship he is made to appear in the role of their greatest advocate.

Negroes are intensely interested in their civil liberties. To them it is the greatest issue of the campaign. But only the misguided among them will believe that the road to their civil liberties is through the Democratic party.

National GRAPEVINE

By CHARLEY CHEROKEE

IN THIS CORNER

WHITE folks think it's going to be Truman versus Dewey. Well it ain't. Race is going to win this election and white folks are dumb about race. Take it from us chum, it's going to be Negro versus Negro, Bill Dawson versus Val Washington.

For a dozen years or more the Democrat's canny Congressman Dawson has bamboozled the GOP on race matters with ridiculous ease. When any one of the Negro old-guard GOP big-shots has dared stand up to him he's laughed in their face and left them looking foolish and frustrated. He's the champ.

Well the champ now has a worthy challenger. The GOP has adopted Val Washington. He is a younger edition of Bill. Like Bill he's a graduate of Chicago's tough, dirty, Ward politics where no holds are barred, fair or foul. Like Bill, he knows race, people, and politics from A to Z. Like Bill he usually manages to back a winner. It's the old story of champ with the advantage of greater experience, confident challenger with the advantage of youth.

Disregard this patter about whether its GOP or Dem that has a separate "Negro Division." Actually both are semi-integrated. Important thing is everything relating to race, be it spelling "Negro" with a big "N," checking speeches for racial slights, or passing out patronage dollars, clears thru Bill in the Dem Committee and Val in the GOP Committee. You can bet your bottom dollar on that. They're not only on the inside, they're at the top.

Presently, GOP is waiting for Dem to lead and will start counterpunching after Labor Day. Comes then the fireworks and in colored, yet. That's how it is, whether the old Guard Negro GOPs or the New York Negro GOPs like it or not.

TRUMAN CUT OFF CAMPAIGN WATER — Observers think that the Wallace-Taylor has been stealing momentum since the Democratic National Convention at Philadelphia.

President Truman and the Democratic Party's strong "civil rights" plank, recommended by the Chief Executive, they cut off Wallace's campaign water.

Minorities, particularly Negroes, who may have been inclined to go along with Wallace and his Communist plumbers, have veered back to Truman.

National Association for Advancement of Colored People, is openly campaigning for Truman.

Emory Jackson, editor of the Negro newspaper, The Birmingham World, reportedly has undertaken the organization of members of his race in Alabama for the president. Jackson, incidentally, led a delegation of Negro "observers" to the Democratic Philadelphia convention.

Announced objectives of this group were to lobby for Truman's nomination and seek, among other things, a broader "civil rights" plank in the platform.

* * *

TRAIN AND MOTORCADE—Wallace is bringing his presidential campaign to Alabama by train and motorcade.

Travis, Jr., chairman of the Walter White, secretary of the

the Alabama Progressive Party said the third party standard-bearer would make his first campaign appearance in this state at 8 a.m. Sept. 4 at Huntsville.

There he will be met by a motorcade and drive to Guntersville Albertville, Boaz and Attalla for short speeches, with a luncheon appearance at Gadsden.

After his park speech here, Wallace will talk over a statewide radio hookup at 7 p.m. and make brief appearances at Fairfield and Bessemer before departing on his private Pullman via the Southern for Jackson, Miss.

NATIONAL G.O.P. COMMITTEE BOLSTERS REECE'S RIGHT

From reports here in Washington, the Republican National Committee believes it has a chance to win this year's Tennessee senatorial fight and is going all out in its efforts to put former national committee chairman Carroll Reece across in November.

According to the reports Mr. Reece came to Washington recently and sold committee officials a bill of goods on his chances for election. As a result of this selling effort, the report says, Mr. Reece was promised ample financial and other help.

Shortly after Mr. Reece's Washington visit, Carlyle Bargeron, top Washington newspaper and publicity man, reportedly was sent to Tennessee by the Republican National Committee, to handle the public relations end of the senatorial campaign.

Mr. Bargeron worked for the Republican committee earlier this year when he was given the almost superhuman task of handling public relations for Representative Taber (R., N.Y.) in an effort to make the penny-pinching chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, appear as a kindly old man.

Representative Kefauver who won the Democratic senatorial nomination earlier this month said during a brief Washington visit this week that he plans an active campaign from now until the November election. He said he didn't plan to take any chances of slipping up by taking his election for granted and just sitting back waiting for election day.

DIXIE'S SENATORS TELL WORLD HOW THE SOUTH IS IMPROVING LIVING FOR WHITE AND BLACK

Drop Defensive Line of 'Leave Us Alone' When Attacked by North's Trouble Makers and Outline Achievements--Mississippians Take Lead

By William D. Sisson

Washington, Aug. 28--When Mississippi's two senators joined this week in writing the 13 Southern governors to obtain information on the steps being taken to raise the standard of living in their states their action represented another step in the new approach to the [illegible] against the South by Northern racial and minority groups.

In past years the South has fought largely a defensive battle. The arguments used in fighting back against the do-gooders have been mostly negative. These arguments have run along the line of "leave us alone".

But within the past few months those who have taken the lead in the Senate in the fight against the proposed force bills of the Civil Rights program have come to realize that the South doesn't have anything to be ashamed of.

They have taken the new approach that the South is doing all it can, without outside interference, to raise the standard of living of all the people in that section, black and white.

As the senators dug deeper into the situation and gathered information they became more and more convinced that their best weapon in the future would be a campaign to let the rest of the country know just what the South is doing and what progress it is making.

That was the tone of several speeches during the special session filibuster against the proposed anti-Poll Tax Bill. Missing from the filibuster speeches was the old raving and ranting.

Now Senators Eastland and Stennis have gone a step further and asked the Southern governors for detailed information on what each state is doing to improve educational, health and other conditions.

The senators plan to broadcast this information to those sections of the country that still look upon the South as a more or less uncivilized territory, in the belief that those people will be more sympathetic toward the South and more understanding once they become enlightened with the true facts of the situation.

Holt Uses Civil Rights Issue; McMath Calls Foe Desperate

Hurls Challenge

By KENNETH TOLER
Staff Correspondent

LEACHVILLE, Ark., July 31.—Jack Holt, former attorney general, launched his runoff campaign for the governorship here Saturday afternoon with a challenge to his opponent, Sid McMath, "to quit pussy-footing and hoodwinking the people" as to his stand on civil rights and white supremacy.

Mr. Holt, who has already secured the open indorsement of two of the first primary eliminated aspirants, said unless his opponent states his position, "I will expose him."

Several questions propounded to Mr. McMath by the former state official included:

"Where do you stand on the race issue? What deals have you made with the negroes for the negro votes? How many negroes have you promised to put in the State Department of Education? How many negroes have you promised to put on the state police force?"

Will Fight Hard

Since opening of his campaign for the seat to be vacated by Gov. Ben Laney, Mr. Holt has been outspoken in opposition to the civil rights program and in his address here during the afternoon and at Brinkley Saturday night said if elected, "I will join hands with the other Southern governors and assist them in every way possible to operation with the Southern delegation in the Congress who are filibustering against the President's civil rights program.

Devoting most of his second primary opener to the racial question, Mr. Holt asserted that the people have a right to know Mr. McMath's plans for the white people and the negroes in Arkansas.

"Insult to Whites"

"It would be the greatest insult to the white people of Arkansas for you to impose upon them without first giving them an opportunity to at least say whether they approve your program for negroes," Mr. Holt said. "The white people do not want negroes in their schools, their churches, their hospitals, their theaters, their restaurants and their businesses. You—McMath—can tell them very simply that you feel the same way about it and you can do so by truthfully answering the questions I have asked you.

"Sid has been saying the people are the governor-makers, but I say the white people are the governor-makers in this campaign and when the white people cease to be the governor-makers the day of carpet baggers will return and God help all of us.

"For one, I am not going to turn the State of Arkansas over to the negroes and I know I can depend upon the vast majority in this fight once they learn what my opponent really stands for. The people rule all right, but it is the white people."

Admitting that Mr. McMath led the ticket in the first primary last Tuesday, Mr. Holt said "However, I got more white votes than he did."

"Uncle Mac (James MacKrell, third man in the race, who is now managing Mr. Holt's campaign)) and I got twice as many white votes as Sid did.

Above Personalities

"This race rises above the personalities of Jack Holt and Sid McMath. The people are entitled to know the full facts as well as the resulting consequences in order to properly vote. Yes, it is bigger than Jack Holt or Sid McMath. It will affect your children and your children's children.

"If it costs me this election, I pledge you that the people will be informed.

"I have carried on a fight against mixing the two races and I intend to carry on the fight until the Civil Rights program is abandoned."

Mr. Holt flew here from Little Rock with former Sheriff Leon Brown of Jonesboro and Erp F. Jennings, Little Rock automobile dealer.

His address was heard by a large group attending the opening of the B. C. Laird Co.'s new supermarket. It is owned by John G. and Henry A. Hoyt of Memphis and Leachville.

The program opened with invocation by the Rev. E. H. Hall, pastor of the Leachville Methodist Church.

Sunday afternoon the Holt supporters will hold a meeting in Little Rock at Hotel Gleason.

Gubernatorial Race Close in Arkansas

LITTLE ROCK—(AP)—Former Arkansas Attorney General Jack Holt and Garland County Prosecutor Sidney McMath fought a nip and tuck battle for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination.

Returns from 225 of the state's 2,036 precincts gave Holt 7,246 votes to 7,039 for McMath.

ARKANSAS CANDIDATES SCORE NATIONAL PARTY

Flay Civil Rights Plank, Attack

Proposals To Repair State's Depleted Road System

By DICK ALLEN
From The Commercial Appeal
Little Rock Bureau

LITTLE ROCK, July 15.—Rousing speeches flaying the civil rights plank incorporated in the national Democratic Party's platform and criticism of proposals for rebuilding Arkansas' highway system highlighted Thursday's developments in the gubernatorial campaign.

Candidate Horace E. Thompson, speaking before a rally at Nashville, bitterly criticized the strong civil liberties plank in the platform adopted by the Democratic Convention, while at Augusta, Sidney McMath ripped into the highway proposals offered by two of his opponents.

"Unalterably Opposed"

Mr. Thompson said he was "unalterably opposed" to the so-called civil rights proposals incorporated in the party's platform.

"I have a feeling that if the civil rights legislation should be enacted it would retard the progress we have made in the South in bringing better opportunities to minority groups in our population," he declared. "I shall stand shoulder to shoulder with the citizenry of my state and the congressional delegation in fighting their enactment and in fighting for the historic American theory of States' Rights in government."

He said the civil rights plank "is wholly unacceptable to the South."

At Augusta, Mr. McMath assailed what he termed the "I. O. U." plan for providing roads, a plan advocated by Jack Holt. Mr. Holt has proposed to finance a road building program by using a surplus of $16,000,000 now in the state investment fund.

Charges "Raid On Treasury"

McMath attacked the "raid on the treasury for funds belonging to the old age pensioners, schools and teachers, institutions and funds which can not be touched due to constitutional and statutory limitations."

The candidate insisted that his conservation program for borrowing funds in order to obtain maximum matching benefits from the Federal Government "is the only reasonable solution presented so far." He called the pay-as-you-go program advocated by Mr. Thompson "a timid, do-nothing means of evading the vital issue."

At Texarkana, Mr. Holt attended an open air barbecue and Holt rally sponsored by his supporters Thursday night. Mr. Holt was introduced by Wallace Eally, superintendent of Miller County schools, who also acted as master of ceremonies.

Holt headquarters at Little Rock announced the appointment of Louis Watts of Drew County and Ben Bynum of Chicot County as associate campaign directors. Both are members of the Legislature. Mr. Bynum acted as campaign manager for Jim Merritt of McGehee, who withdrew as a candidate for governor and announced his support for Mr. Holt.

College Club Formed

The headquarters also reported that a Holt-for-Governor Club had been organized on the campus at Arkansas State Teachers College in Conway. Officers of the club are William Amos, president; Truman Kennedy, vice president, and Jim Sloan, secretary-treasurer.

Thompson headquarters announced the appointment of J. E. (Pat) Garner, unopposed candidate for state senator from Sebastian County, as an associate campaign director. Active in the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Mr. Garner is a news commentator for a Fort Smith radio station.

Mr. Thompson made four appearances Thursday, visiting with voters in Booneville, Waldron, Nashville and speaking in Hope Thursday night. He will remain in Hope Friday morning, spend the afternoon in Camden and speak in El Dorado Friday night.

Mr. Holt earlier Thursday spoke at Murfreesboro, Prescott and Hope. He will take his campaign to East Arkansas Friday, speaking in Osceola, Luxora and Blytheville.

Other Campaign Activity

Mr. McMath continued his heavy schedule of handshaking and speech-making in East Arkansas Thursday. During the morning he saw voters at DeValls Bluff, spoke at Des Arc and conferred with supporters at Cotton Plant and McCrory. He spoke at Brinkley during the afternoon and attended the fishing rodeo and picnic at Augusta Thursday night. He will continue his trek in that section of the state Friday, appearing in Vanndale, Cherry Valley, Birdeye, Parkin, Levesque and Forrest City and will speak at Wynne Friday night.

James (Uncle Mac) MacKrell made three appearances Thursday. He talked to voters near Heber Springs Thursday morning, attended a picnic at Vilonia during the afternoon and spoke at Augusta Thursday night. Friday he will speak at Blevins and Nashville.

Thompson vs. Talmadge

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The following articles were written by M. E. Thompson and Herman Talmadge exclusively for The Constitution and are being carried, as a public service, without charge.

By M. E. THOMPSON

On next Wednesday, Sept. 8, you, the people of Georgia, will choose your Governor. I have every sound reason to expect that choice will be me, M. E. Thompson.

I have been the Acting Governor for nearly 17 months. In that time I have tried to prove myself worthy and capable of the high office. For two months I have been campaigning in your midst, asking election for the remainder of the four-year term on which I have been serving.

In my campaign I have tried to keep to the real issues, though my opponent has tried to mislead you into believing that the conduct of the office of Governor, the highest office within your gift, is secondary. He has declined throughout the campaign to discuss that one real issue and sought vainly, I am sure, to raise false issues which have served only to divide our people and to tell the world that Georgia is a hotbed of demagoguery, hatred and dissension.

Since July 10 when I opened my campaign in my old home town of Millen, Jenkins County, I have been asking the people of Georgia to elect me on the record I have made. In my opinion the only real question before the people is whether or not M. E. Thompson has done a good job and whether or not he can be depended on to do a good job in the future.

My opponent has declined to face me on the issue. He has sought to inject the civil rights issue into this State campaign when everyone knows full well the civil rights issue is strictly a Federal matter to be decided by the Congress of the United States and not by the Governor of Georgia.

Sun. 9-5-48

Views Our two Georgia Senators and our 10 Congressmen are definitely opposed to the civil rights program and are fighting it with every power at their command. Whether I am Governor or someone else is Governor will not change their views on this all-important Federal issue.

So there is and can be no division in Georgia on this Federal issue.

But there could be division in Georgia on the real issue of the Governor's race. There are some people in this State and in every State who believe that the State Government belongs solely to them and should be operated for their special interests. I firmly believe the State Government belongs to all the people and should be operated for the interests of all of the people.

Victory Fortunately for all Georgia, the people have seen the light and have rallied to the support of M. E. Thompson by untold thousands, so much so that he will win a sweeping victory in the election next Wednesday.

The race is all but over and the cause is won. In the last day or two of the campaign our opposition will do everything within its power to overcome the tidal wave of ballots which is about to engulf them. Early in the campaign I warned that they would take three shots at it. First, they would try to win it; second, they would try to buy it, and third, they would try to steal it.

They have failed to win the election and they have failed to buy it. Their one remaining hope is to steal it.

But thanks to our newspapers, radio stations, civic clubs and such sterling organizations like the League of Women Voters, not to mention the countless citizens who have deputized themselves to act as vigilantes at the counting on Wednesday night, they will not be able to steal the election.

By HERMAN TALMADGE

On next Wednesday, ladies and gentlemen of Georgia, you will go to the polls and choose your next Governor.

This has been an interesting campaign. I have fought a clean fight and have contented myself with talking about the real issues of this race.

In no instance have I made a charge against my opponent unless I held in my hands documentary proof of the statements I made.

The one outstanding issue confronting our people in this race is the so-called civil rights issue. This issue has been forced on us by politicians of the North, East and West who seek to make political capital out of a problem that we in the South alone can handle. Their attack on our Southern way of life is fostered by well-financed and well-organized groups who have as their aim the complete breakdown of all segregation barriers in the South.

To these attacks, which have reached a high state of viciousness, we must organize a common defense in all the State of the South. The first battle in this fight is now under way and will be settled by your ballots on next Wednesday.

This defense must be organized now. It must be led by those who truly believe in the honor and traditions of the South. The fight must be a fair one that looks toward the best interests of both the white and Negro races. We must teach the nation that segregation is best for all.

Sun 9-5-48

Warnings Right here I want to warn our people against last-minute campaign charges—which almost always are cowardly and untrue, made purely because there is no chance for denial or refutation.

Constitution

And I want to warn against the so-called polls, particularly among newspaper editors of this State.

One of the most amusing things about the campaign thus far was the claim offered by my opponent the other day that he had the support of some 140 newspapers. The funny thing about it is he made this claim the very day after it was exposed that he had sent out to more than 140 newspapers advertisements for constitutional amendments at $1,800 each or a total of $253,000. The State law only requires that constitutional amendments be advertised in one newspaper in each of Georgia's 10 Congressional Districts. Thompson is spending a quarter of a million dollars of the people's tax money in an attempt to buy newspaper support in the heat of a political campaign when he could have complied with the law by spending only $18,000. The amendments pertain to local matters and are not of general interest.

Atlanta, Ga.

Thanks Permit me to express my thanks to this newspaper for allowing me space every Sunday during this campaign and also to Radio Station WCON for the successful radio debate forum.

Sun. 9-5-48

I thank the people of Georgia for the uniform courtesy shown me at the immense meetings I have held over the State. I have fought an aggressive, but clean, fight. I have fought for a better State, for a bigger State, for the real improvement of our educational, health, welfare and veterans' facilities and services and for genuine material advancement in every part of Georgia.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen of Georgia, for your kindness, your many expressions of good will and for the great tidal wave of support that sweeps from the mountains to the sea.

We will win a mighty victory and bring honor, truth and dignity to the highest office within the gift of the people of our State.

Talmadge, Thompson Both Pledge Jim Crow

The Defender

Aug 8-28-48

ATLANTA, Ga.—Sideline political observers watching the Talmadge-Thompson orgy for votes in the impending gubernatorial battle would be an understatement to describe the campaign as the "Great American Tragedy."

Thus far newspaper dispatches here indicate that Herman Talmadge in his attempt to emotionalize voters is standing steadfast as the supreme advocate of white supremacy with Grand Dragon Samuel Green and the Ku Klux Klan at his back. The hooded leader is quoted as saying in front of the Baldwin County Courthouse that "The Ku Klux Klan of Georgia indorses Herman Talmadge for Governor of Georgia on the platform he is running on." As he made this statement 500 hooded klansmen and many spectators listened attentively.

Talmadge thus far has failed to make any comment on the head klansman's statement, but the candidate is said to have warned white citizens in Summerville, Ga., that Negroes would be going to white schools and Negro foreman would boss white workers, if he is not elected.

In reply to this statement, Acting Governor Thompson said to the townsmen that "M. E. Thompson is acting governor now—and that isn't happening." Continuing on in apparent effort to counteract the emotional argument of his adversary, Thompson, according to local newspapers, said: "I invite every Georgian to check my forefathers' record in the Confederate army. I am against every principle of the so-called civil rights program, and I joined other southern governors in protesting it."

In view of what he had already said, Thompson ended his Summerville speech by scoring Talmadge for appealing to prejudices and arraying class against class.

This oral melee ended with Thompson criticising Talmadge's 67-day term as governor.

Gubernatorial Foes Swap Accusations

BY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Acting Gov. M. E. Thompson charged last night Herman Talmadge supporters are turning to hoodlumism and violence in the Governor's race.

He said uninvited "storm troops" tried to prevent former Gov. E. D. Rivers from speaking for Thompson at a turbulent rally in Vidalia last week.

After Rivers, one of Georgia's best political orators, weathered a storm of abuse and finally drew applause, Thompson said, the hoodlums were boasting about the Atlanta hotel lobbies:

"It ain't nothing compared with what we are going to do to (former Governor) Ellis Arnall when he gets out on the stump."

Then the Governor flung a fiery challenge.

"Well, for their information, Gov. Arnall will speak in my behalf at Athens on Thursday of this week. They found him quite a tartar when they tried to turn him out of the Governor's office in January, 1947. . . . Let them try to stop him."

With Talmadge recovering in a Dublin hospital from automobile accident injuries, Thompson and Rivers kept political fires burning with radio addresses at the weekly Thompson rally in Atlanta.

Charles Bloch, Macon attorney, substituted for Talmadge in another radio address from Atlanta last night. Robert Elliott, of Columbus, new Georgia Democratic National Committeeman, filled the breach for Talmadge at a rally in Ellaville.

Doctors said young Talmadge might be confined the remainder of the week and then might resume campaigning on crutches. A knee was partly fractured in an automobile accident Saturday night.

Another contender hit the oratorical trail for the first time yesterday. Hoke O'Kelley told a radio audience huge funds are being spent in the campaign.

"Money has its place," he said, "but its place is not to swing an election. How can a man who has spent a fortune to be elected, be a good Governor for our state?. . ."

He promised an economical drive for votes and an economical administration if elected. He said Georgians are paying $500,000,000 a year in State and Federal taxes for "entrenched and overpaid officials" to spend unwisely.

Bloch, who nominated Sen. Russell for the Presidency at the Democratic National Convention, recounted in his address for Talmadge some of the transactions of the Philadelphia meeting.

He also recalled the Democratic convention of 1944, when former Gov. Ellis Arnall nominated Henry Wallace for the Vice Presidency. Then he asked:

"If Arnall and Rivers and Thompson were that far wrong in 1944 in casting your vote, the vote of your State, for the Vice Presidency, will you trust them to select your next governor for you?"

Meanwhile, at Covington, Gubernatorial Candidate Joe Rabun accused Thompson of "wooing Tom Linder for obvious reasons." He said the Acting Governor, "a political chameleon and quick-change artist," appointed counsel to represent the Agricultural Commissioner in the hope of "gaining enough votes to offset the loss of honest people who are unable to swallow his bitter pills."

He then turned to Herman Talmadge and, describing him as "quite a rabble-rouser himself," said that last Fall Talmadge agreed to speak on a tour with Gerald L. K. Smith.

"It was only at the last minute that Roy Harris was able to save his Charlie McCarthy from the notorious Smith," Rabun said.

"It appears," he went on, "that neither of my major opponents can make a right and wise decision without a professional politician to guide him. What have they done with their consciences?"

Klan Issue Enters Governorship Race

With the Ku Klux Klan injecting itself as an issue in the campaign, Acting Gov. Thompson and Gubernatorial Candidate Herman Talmadge speak twice in the northern part of the State today.

Thompson will talk at Monroe at 11 a. m. and at Greensboro at 4 p. m.

Talmadge will be at Cartersville at 11 a. m. and Carrollton at 3:30 p. m.

Thompson yesterday branded as absolutely false Grand Dragon Samuel Green's statement that Talmadge had been a Klansman. Green told a group of the masked figures at Milledgeville Thursday night that the Ku Klux indorses Talmadge for Governor.

Near Chipley, in Harris County, yesterday, Thompson continued to compared his record of expanding State services with that of Herman Talmadge, "who, while playing as Governor for 67 days, said nothing could be done until he got $32,000,000 in a new tax."

Thompson pointed to record-breaking programs of school improvement, road building, health and welfare programs and park developments under his administration—without additional taxation.

Talmadge told a Toccoa audience that "the issue of civil rights has been brought squarely before the people of Georgia." He pointed out grave dangers to Georgians, which, he said, are sure to come through adoption of the civil rights program by the Federal Government, a program which is advocated by both the major parties.

One of the dangers faced in Georgia is bloc voting by Negroes, Talmadge asserted. He said Thompson is depending upon this bloc vote to win the election, and that is the reason Thompson will offer no more than lip service against the civil rights measure.

While the Democratic gubernatorial candidates were combatting the Henry Wallace group's candidate for Governor was on a tour of Northwest Georgia, seeking signatures of 60,000 voters to place his name on the general election ballot.

James Barfoot, former University of Georgia professor and gubernatorial candidate of the People's Progressive Party, was visiting 11 Northwest Georgia counties, holding street meetings at courthouses and factory gates, seeking the signatures.

The Fulton County Talmadge-Governor Club will sponsor a motorcade to Carrollton today, leaving from Techwood Drive and North Avenue at 1:15 p. m.

News from Macon yesterday said a Bibb County Thompson-for-Governor Club had been formed under the leadership of Charles Walker.

GEORGIA:

Gene's Boy

The same red galluses were back, the same stray black lock tumbling over the forehead, the same big black cigars, the same rabble-rousing mannerisms, the same shrill cries for white supremacy and states' rights. The political trademarks of "Ole Gene" Talmadge were stamped all over his lawyer-son and political heir, 35-year-old "Hummon."

A paler carbon copy of Eugene Talmadge, Herman had inherited Georgia's governorship in January 1947, when the General Assembly, illegally elected him to fill the vacancy left by his father's death just before his fourth inaugural. He ruled for two months, until the State Supreme Court deposed him in favor of Lt. Gov. M. E. Thompson. At that time he vowed: "The court of last resort is the people of Georgia. This case will be taken to the court of last resort."

Hummon's Way: Now Herman was appealing his case by battling Thompson for the Democratic nomination for the remaining two years of his father's four-year term. Pointing toward the Sept. 8 primary, he didn't even let an auto crackup in late July deter him. Despite a blackened eye, he stumped on bright yellow crutches until his injured right leg was strong enough to stand on.

For campaign ammunition young Talmadge borrowed liberally from the textbook "Georgia Citizenship," which Thompson had co-authored as assistant state school superintendent in 1939, to argue that his opponent did not favor states' rights. Quoting Thompson as having written: "The people have come to look to Washington to tell them what to do," Talmadge retorted: "I'll not let Washington tell us what we can do and cannot do." He also snorted that "Melvin Thompson's book reads like the Communist Daily Worker," and noted acidly that Thompson had "advertised his campaign in a Negro newspaper."

But Talmadge, as a Navy veteran of assault transports at Guadalcanal and Okinawa, aimed his biggest guns at Thompson's sponsors, ex-Govs. Ellis Arnall and E. D. Rivers: "No ex-governors will put a halter or bridle on me and lead me to a hitching post." His heaviest broadside, based on Arnall's support of Henry A. Wallace for Vice President at the 1944 Democratic convention: "Wallace would have been President today if Ellis Arnall, M. E. Thompson, and Ed Rivers had had their way."

Thompson's Way: What the 45-year-old Thompson relied on was his record "as a good governor." Boasting a clean, honest administration, he accused his opponent of conducting "an unprecedented campaign of demagoguery, bitterness, hatred, prejudice and hoodlumism . . . in a frantic effort to becloud the one real issue in this campaign." Having himself vetoed a bill to sidestep court decisions and restore the white primary, he pooh-poohed the "worn-out Negro question."

Actually, the Negro question was by no means worn out. For President Truman, with his civil-rights program, had given Talmadge a ready-made issue. Last week Talmadge's pledge to launch a nationwide crusade against fair-employment-practices legislation helped win him the Ku Klux Klan's endorsement.

In addition it bolstered an issue especially popular among the "wool hats" of rural Georgia counties where his father had been strongest. With Georgia still retaining its unique county-unit system which permitted "Ole Gene" to win the 1946 nomination on county-unit votes although running second in popular votes, only a political miracle could keep "Hummon" from victory this time.

THOMASTON TIMES

The Constitution

Theres No Room for Race Issue

Atlanta, Ga. Jan. 1-30-48

The campaign of candidates for Georgia's next Governor is already under way and at present it seems there will be only two outstanding candidates, each representing a faction in State politics. Let us hope that the campaigns will be pitched upon a higher plane than that which prevailed in the last race for Governor. It resulted in making Georgia the laughingstock of the nation and the State was held up to ridicule wherever the subject was mentioned. The Constitution, Atlanta, Ga. Feb. 1-30-48

It does seem that a race for Governor could be run in Georgia without being based upon prejudice and ignorance of the voters. Georgia deserves a better fate than this.

There are so many good issues on which a candidate could erect his platform without dipping into the lower possessions of the electorate. A candidate who bases his claim to consideration of the voters on race hatred and prejudice is not fit to be Governor of this grand old State of Georgia.

Why not make a platform of better educational facilities, more and better roads, a greater and larger health program, aid for hospitals which the Sate so badly needs, more, better and larger facilities for taking care of the insane, the tubercular and other afflicted people? These are only a few of the things that Georgia needs. Let's not obscure the real issues of the coming campaign with appeals to hatred and prejudice.

Let's leave personalities out of the race for Governor and let issues decide the matter. Georgia needs the best talent it has for its Governor, but we can never get it as long as the plane of gubernatorial politics remains as low as it has been for several years. Let's get out of the rut and fight for cleaner and better gubernatorial

M. L. ST. JOHN

The Constitution

The Political Trend in County Elections

Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 3-14-48

The campaign machines of Acting Gov. Thompson and Herman Talmadge are checking the rolls of Legislators being elected in the various counties, and are nudging their friends with claims of victory in this or that county race. That is a practice that has been followed by gubernatorial candidates in the past. The "in-the-know" political leaders can look at the results of a legislative race and tell you how that county is going to vote in the gubernatorial election.

It is puzzling to some of the less authoritative observers, however, to see how the Talmadge forces can claim a traditional anti-Talmadge county simply because the Legislator-elect happens to be a friend of Talmadge; or how the Thompson forces can claim a dyed-in-the-wool Talmadge county simply because a Thompson friend was chosen Legislator. We were particularly puzzled ourself when we saw a Thompson Legislator helping elect a Talmadge man to a county commission post in Cobb County. We are waiting for explanations from the two gubernatorial campaign headquarters about that Walker County election.

What happened in Walker? A Thompson friend was opposing a Talmadge incumbent for the House seat—and both men got beat by a young veteran. Another young veteran, unknown to Talmadge, took out the other House incumbent, who is a Thompson appointee to the State Board of Corrections.

The Georgia Education Association could utter big claims on the Walker County election, were it so politically inclined. Because both young veterans promised all-out support to the schools, and they got a big vote from school people. Sun. 3-14-48

The explanation, however, is that a group of war veterans organized a political league and campaigned to oust the incumbent county political machine. State politics apparently had nothing to do with it.

Coming to the House next January in their first political role will be W. L. Abney, Jr., 32-year-old Army veteran, and Albert Campbell, 31, veteran of nine years in the Navy. They won over Walker Rep. Ray Crow, Talmadge friend; Rep. John Mavity, Thompson appointee to the Correction Board; former State Patrol Capt. F. Brock, Thompson friend. Brock placed third, Crow was fourth and Mavity fifth in the race.

Another young veteran is coming to the House next January from Sumter County. He defeated an incumbent in a race that will cause some political fat-chewing. Frank Myers defeated Incumbent Theron Jennings. The AFL immediately hailed this as a victory over labor enemies, since Jennings was an author of labor-curbing bills in the House. The Thompson forces were pleased over Myers defeating a Talmadge friend Sumter County backed the late Eugene Talmadge for Governor in 1946. It is our prediction that the 1949 Legislature will find Rep. Myers, fresh out of the University of Georgia Law School, one of its most independent-thinking members. We've known him since he was in high school, and we believe he will be an asset to the Legislature. Rep. Buddy Pearlman was re-elected over Jimmy Johnson for Sumter's other House seat.

The county elections offer trends—somewhat confused by local issues—on the State political races, for those who are gifted with analyzing them. But the election of a Thompson friend or a Talmadge friend in a particular county doesn't necessarily mean that the Governor in 1949 will have some rubber-stamp followers in the General Assembly. Sun. 3-14-48

Bloc Voting

Editor Constitution: I notice Talmadge is against bloc voting. I will agree with him on that. But in the Negro's case how else could he or anyone else expect the Negro to vote when he only has one choice?

I also would like to speak a good word for the political football (Jekyll Island). I had heard and read so much about it for and against I went to see what it was all about. I spent a day and night there in July and I must say I have never received a more cordial welcome anywhere. The food was fine. The room and bed were as fine as I would expect anywhere, and the price was normal.

Negro Issue Expected To Shrink Before State Campaign Lives

The Constitution Sun. Atlanta, Ga.

By M. L. ST. JOHN

The Negro issue—on which the platforms.

late Eugene Talmadge failed to Herman Talmadge, son of the win in 1942 and than won in 1946 man who made the Negro an issue —may drop far into the back- in modern Georgia politics and re- ground of the 1948 gubernatorial garded as a 1948 gubernatorial campaign, political observers said candidate himself, immediately Saturday.

With the Federal Circuit Court tions law after Federal Courts of Appeals at Richmond, Va., out- banned from voting in the pri- lawing the South Carolina White mary.

Primary plan, both major guber- Acting Gov. Thompson is al- natorial candidates are expected to ready on record as favoring an ed- offer stronger educational qualifi- ucational qualifications law. He cations for voters as part of their mary, and both major candidates goes further than Talmadge by offering stronger qualifications the tests to be given. The present

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candidate himself, immediately have to apply to whites as well as their ballots at least every two years. The Thompson forces favored a bill which would enforce the present educational qualifications, permit school teachers to give the tests to the prospective voters, and have the State Department of Education prescribe

State Constitution requires a person to be able to read and write or understand a portion of the Constitution.

Instead of the Negro issue, which has been destroyed by the courts, observers believe Talmadge will base his campaign for Governor on the contention that Th- npson wasted money in buying . kyll Island for a park and that Former Gov. Rivers is a power behind the Thompson administration.

They believe Thompson will base his campaign on his record in office, claiming he has built a fine record without an Appropriations Bill, and on the contention that Former House Speaker Roy Harris would be the power behind a Talmadge administration.

In the unofficial campaigns thus far, these issues have been stressed by Thompson and Talmadge.

While Thompson has opened campaign headquarters here and both he and Talmadge have been speaking over the State since last April when the Supreme Court ruled that Thompson and not Talmadge was entitled to the Governor's office, an official announcement for Governor is not expected from either candidate until after the State Supreme Court rules on the State Democratic Executive Committee case.

The court is slated to hear the case of James S. Peters, Chairman of the Talmadge-aligned Committee, versus William S. Morris Chairman of the Thompson-aligned Committee, on Jan. 13.

A Republican Candidate for Governor

The first Republican to seek the nomination for Governor, in the first Georgia Republican primary since reconstruction days, has announced his candidacy.

That is good. It could be the beginning of a genuine second party in Georgia.

The Atlanta Constitution long has sought a second party in Georgia. We recently have urged those citizens not affiliated with or loyal to the Democratic Party to study the Republican Party and see if they can affiliate with it. We believe the two-party system valuable, but regard the "many party" system disastrous, as has been effectively proved in the nations of Europe, where the parliamentry system exists, or did exist.

A start has now been made. The Republican Party will have a candidate in the November election.

The Atlanta Constitution knows Wilson Williams, the National Republican Committeman of Georgia, to be a splendid gentleman of unimpeachable integrity and character. He also is one of Georgia's most valuable business men. The Republican Party in the South has, with a few exceptions, suffered from the fact that it was made up largely of undesirable political parasites uninterested in anything save what patronage they could obtain in the years of Republican victories. Wilson Williams is supplying a new-type leadership to Republican affairs in Georgia. The pity is the party has not more like him in other Southern States. The plain truth is the Republican National Committee always has permitted a generally "sorry" state to exist in party affairs in the South. This year is, for the Republican National Committee and convention, a year of testing. If it should refuse to recognize and accept the Republican State primary results and delegates, it can forget about a second party development in the South.

Mighty oaks from little acorns grow, according to the old Blue-Back Speller. And we greet this figurative little acorn of a Republican beginning as symbolic.

THE SOUTHEAST

New Talmadge Tactics Hinted in the Georgia Race

By GEORGE HATCHER

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Ga., May 22—Interest in Georgia's Gubernatorial campaign mounted this week as rumors persisted that Herman Talmadge might step out of the race in favor of either his mother, widow of Eugene Talmadge, or Representative Eugene Pace. The chief rival of the Talmadge group is Governor M. E. Thompson. The Georgia Democratic primary will be held in September and it is considered tantamount to election.

State Attorney General Eugene Cook has ruled that the winner of this year's election will not be eligible for re-election in 1950. Mr. Cook held that the late Eugene Talmadge was elected in 1946 for a four-year term, that upon Mr. Talmadge's death Lieutenant Governor-Elect Thompson was the "legal successor until the next general election" and that the election this year thus is for the purpose of filling the unexpired term. Mr. Cook also cites the Georgia Constitution provision which prohibits a Governor from serving two successive terms.

Young Mr. Talmadge, it is said, believes that either his mother or Talmadgeite Representative Pace could be re-elected in the coming primary and that he, in turn, could win a full term in 1950.

In the meantime, Georgia members of the American Federation of Labor have served notice that any candidate who wins their support must come out for repeal of the anti-closed shop bill passed by the 1947 State Legislature.

When Governor Thompson arrived at the Georgia Federation of Labor annual convention in Brunswick to accept an invitation to make an address, the delegates voted against permitting him to speak. At the same time, the convention called upon Mr. Thompson and Mr. Talmadge to express themselves for or against repeal of the anti-closed shop law.

Both Involved in Law

It was a pro-Talmadge Legislature which approved the measure and it was Governor Thompson who signed it into law a year ago.

Regardless of who is the Talmadge faction's candidate, the issues have already been laid down by young Herman and his associates. Notwithstanding the recent Supeme Court decision which was widely accepted as finally doing away with any possibility of barring Negroes from Democratic party primaries, Mr. Talmadge and his aides insist a way will be found to restore Georgia's white primary.

Governor Thompson last year vetoed a Talmadge-sponsored bill to bar Negroes, patterned after the recently invalidated South Carolina plan, which attempted to make the Democratic party a private "club" with power to bar undesirable "members." The pro-Talmadge Legislature last year in turn rejected a Thompson-sponsored measure tightening educational voting requirements, designed to disqualify Negroes and whites alike.

News Note: The South will go ahead with its regional educational program with or without support of Congress, Gov. Millard Caldwell of Florida announced in Jacksonville.

6 File In Governor's Race As Campaign Turns On Heat

With the issues clearly defined in the 1948 gubernatorial race by two major candidates-Gov. Melvin E. Thompson and Herman Talmadge—the campaign is due to be accelerated in tempo with an eye to the September 8 primary.

Georgia will have two candidates for U. S. Senator and six in the race for governor.

Biggest surprise of all was the announcement of William C. Lankford, former congressman of Douglas, in opposition to Senator Richard B. Russell. The announced opposition to Russell, bitter opponent of President Harry S. Truman's civil rights program and advocate of a jim crow amendment to the selective service bill (the amendment was defeated) foretold a bitter campaign for the senate seat.

Russell has been boomed by anti-Truman forces, for the Democratic nomination for president. He has been warmly-supported by the Harris-Peters-Talmadge wing of the Democratic Party in Georgia and boomed by the Fielding Wright-Southern Democratic Convention movement which has announced it would support a "Fourth Party candidate" against the Republican, Democratic, and Third Party candidates."

GOVERNOR'S RACE

In the governor's race, Randall Evans, Jr., has announced to oppose Thompson and Talmadge. Evans, longtime political ally of the late Eugene Talmadge has made a tempest out of the race by indicating he would run on a platform calling for 100 per-cent white primary, prohibition and aid to veterans.

The Thomson attorney, former speaker of the house, last campaigned for office in 1942 when he was defeated for the attorney general.

Thompson in opening his campaign Saturday called recognition of Georgia as the new Empire State of the South. To achieve this, he said "about all we need is a little less discord—a little less bigotry—and a little more tolerance; a little less prejudice—and a little more understanding; a little less hatred—and a little more love—and a little less demagoguery—and a little more statesmanship."

ASSAILED RIGHTS

Herman Talmadge assailed the civil rights program:"

The so-called Civil Rights or anti-segregation program would destroy every vestige of states' rights and would send a swarm of sercet police into the State of Geor-

The candidates which will appear on the ballot:

U. S. Senator: Richard B. Russell and William C. Lankford.

Governor: Joe Rabun, Hoke O'Kelley, Herman Talmadge, M. E. Thompson, Hoke Willis, Randall Evans, jr.

Lieutenant governor: Henry Parsons and S. Marvin Griffin.

Public service commissioner to succeed James A. Perry, Hugh Gripiln and Royal K. Mann.

Judge Court of Appeals to succeed J. M. C. Townsend, unexpired term of Nash Broyles: J. M. C. Townsend.

Judge Court of Appeals to succeed J. M. C. Townsend: J. M. C. Townsend and Augustus M. Roan.

Public Service Commissioner to succeed Perry T. Knight: A. J. Hartley, Perry T. Knight, Glenn Allen and Willam C. Lankford.

Associate Justice Supreme Court to succeed W. Frank Jenkins: Joe Quillian and J. H. Hawkins.

Associate Justice Supreme Court to succeed William Y. Atkinson: William Y. Atkinson.

Judge Court of Appeals to succeed Jule W. Felton: Jule W. Felton.

Persons Hits 'Race Of Hate, Prejudice'

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
June 25-48

Henry Persons, candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, told a Cartersville audience yesterday he would not "run a race of hate and prejudice."

Sharing the platform with Acting Gov. Thompson, Persons said he was proud to be aligned with the progressive forces of Georgia.

Marvin Griffin, candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, spoke at Commerce, Jefferson, Winder, Lawrenceville and Buford in a fast-moving campaign. He said if Thompson and Former Governors Rivers and Arnall had their way, Henry Wallace would be President today, and Stalin would be telling him how to run America.

Vote Rule May Bar Candidates

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

Concern arose Monday that Herman Talmadge and Acting Gov. Thompson could be left off the general election ballot through uncertainty over the soldier vote law. Tues. 4-13-48

Some Democratic Party leaders admitted that they feel the soldier ballot law may still be in effect.

The Democratic primary to place a Democratic candidate's name on the general election ballot is scheduled for Sept. 8, following a ruling by Atty. Gen. Cook that the soldier vote law is no longer in effect.

Some Democrats, however, feel that Cook ruled incorrectly when he said the war was over, thus ending the validity of the ballot law. They say many Federal powers still exist because no official end of the war has been declared. If the Soldier Vote Act is still effective, candidates would have to qualify for the general election by Aug. 2. 4-13-48

Thompson said he was now running the State and that James Peters is running the Democratic Party. He said: "I plan to run as a candidate for Governor in the Democratic primary."

D. Talmadge Bowers, of Elberton, an Independent candidate for Governor, announced Monday he was going to "play it safe" and qualify as a candidate for Governor in August under the soldier ballot law. Peters said he had no comment on Bowers' action.

Governor Candidates Fume Over 'Issues'

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
June 25-48

In campaign speeches yesterday, Acting Gov. Thompson asked if Georgians wanted to take their government from an efficient administration and turn it over to a "selfish gang to whack up to suit themselves," and Gubernatorial Candidate Herman Talmadge labeled the civil rights issue as the major question in the campaign.

Gubernatorial Candidate Joe Rabun, meanwhile, declared "the people of Georgia and the South are anxious for a leader who will lead in a progressive and Christian manner toward the solution of our peculiar problems instead of inciting and stirring bitter prejudices and hatreds."

Talmadge told audiences at Blackshear and Blakely that he is the only candidate who has consistently expressed his unqualified opposition to all phases of the civil rights program. He charged that Thompson has associated with Henry Wallace and Ellis Arnall and has never at any time offered any sincere aid or support in the fight against these proposals.

"In the Governor's race this year, the civil rights issue overshadows all others," Talmadge said. "The great question in our State today is which candidate for Governor more nearly represents the attitude of the Georgia people? Thompson is dodging this issue because his bosses, Ed Rivers and Ellis Arnall, have told him to dodge it." 8-4-48

Thompson, speaking at a barbecue at Smithsonia, said:

"In nearly a year and a half we have demonstrated that we can get along without midnight putsches and midnight coups in our State Capitol We have demonstrated that we can get along without ripping off locks and tearing down doors in our State Capitol. We have demonstrated that we do not need goons and hoodlums in running our State Government. The Constitution

"Georgia knows that so long as M. E. Thompson sits in the Governor's chair we have an orderly, efficient, calm, business-like sound administration of our State Government. But Georgia would not know what to expect if we put this boy, this puppet of Roy Harris, in the Governor's office. We wouldn't know from one day to the next what he would do nor what Roy and his other bosses would let him do. So why change? Shall we change merely to let this gang which surrounds the Pretender take over control and whack up your government to suit their own ends? Or shall we keep a government that has demonstrated at every turn that it serves the people?" Atlanta, Ga.

Rabun, in talks at McDonough, Fayetteville and Jonesboro, said that the Talmadge faction is standing on its "last rickety legs" and he again asked Thompson to get out of the race so that he, Rabun, could handle Talmadge.

The Governorship Battle Is On

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

Saturday afternoon the two principal candidates for the Governorship of Georgia made their first formal and official speeches in the campaign which will terminate with the State Democratic primary on September 8th. Governor M. E. Thompson spoke from Millen while his chief opponent Attorney Herman Talmadge, spoke at Douglas. Tues. 7-13-48

Some commentators have described the two speeches as similar in content. But not to us. The Talmadge speech to us, was a typical Talmadge speech. The part referring to the race issue was naturally most significant to us. It stated in part:

"Not since Reconstruction have we had a horde of uninformed and easily bought bloc voters marching to the polls....to cast their ballots for candidates as directed by Communist organizations." Of course there are more Negroes voting now in the South than at any time since Reconstruction but we don't know of any Communist organizations that are influencing them.

The Talmadge speech goes on to suggest that "We now have laws on our statue books which would eliminate much of the evil conditions today if enforced in all the counties." This is a subtle call for a purge of Negro voters. Most Georgians will recall the infamous Negro voters purge of 1946 inspired and openly advocated by the late Eugene Talmadge. Daily World

Governor Thompson made a masterful speech, recounting the achievements of his administration and plans for the future. He made no derogatory references to the Negro. He closed his well-received address with the following timely declaration: Atlanta, Ga.

"Today we stand on the threshold of a new Georgia and we have in the future the real opportunity of again claiming, deserving and receiving recognition as the Empire State of the South. About all we need is: A little less discord-and a little more cooperation; a little less bigotry-and a little more tolerance; a little less prejudice-and a little more understanding; a little less hatred-and a little more love-and a little less demogogery-and a little more statesmanship." Tues. 7-13-48

THE RESTORATION: GEORGIA AND LOUISIANA

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Sat 7-17-48

And now again it is Senator Long and Gov. Talmadge, second generation. Senator Russell Long and Gov. Herman Talmadge probably feel very kindly towards each other in this hour of their triumph. After all, Huey and Gene were pals.

There is no question that Huey planned to parlay his "Share the Wealth" scheme into White House occupancy. Ol' Gene, otherwise "The Wild Man From Sugar Creek," had some similar but less warranted stirrings. It is generally understood that Huey and Gene were plotting to nail FDR when Huey was shot dead as a clay pigeon by a dentist.

Talmadge, pere, was in no way the equal of Huey beyond the fact that he would resort to anything in politics. He was virulent, tempestuous and gifted. He was sometime the tool of corporation interests and again he was their eye-gouging enemy. But his powerful personality made a name as negotiable at the polls for his manchild as for himself. The election of his 35-year-old son, Herman, is unassailable evidence of the power of that storming demagogue, even as in the case of Huey, Brother Earl and Son Russell, a U. S. senator at 30.

The corroding, but magnetic appeal of those personalities was such that Russell and Herman were invested with the highest offices essentially because of their ability to affect the mannerisms of their sires and thus revive the images of those departed men. Herman even wore his late pappy's red suspenders.

Talmadge senior was an Atlanta lawyer and operator of a rich 1,000 acre farm owned by his wife. He was first elected commissioner of agriculture by telling his peckerwood dupes that Swift and Armour were robbing them.

Talmadge sought to prove that Georgia's peanut fed hogs were the equal of the Midwest's corn fed hogs To prove it, Talmadge sent several carloads to Chicago, guaranteeing that the Georgia hogs would kill just as "hard." But they killed "soft," the blunder cost Georgia about $20,000 and the legislature talked of impeaching him.

BUT the resourceful Gene made assist-

ance of attack and in 1932 was elected governor—running as the "Roosevelt candidate." However, by 1934 Gene was slurring FDR's paralyzed legs with incredible brutality:

"The greatest calamity in this country is that President Roosevelt can't walk around and hunt up people to talk to. He can only talk to those his secretaries and assistants allow to come in to see him, and 90 per cent of the crowd is the gimme crowd. The next president who goes into the White House will be a man who knows what it is to work in the sun 14 hours a day. That man will be able to walk a two-by-four plank, too!"

In 1936 the dynamic, ambitious Gene staged his well known "Grass Roots Convention of Southern Democrats" at Macon, with a view of lining up a Dixie bloc to oppose FDR. It was not a success despite the demagogic splurge. Some of the Macon money is understood to have come from such Roosevelt-haters as Raskob, the du Ponts, Alfred P. Sloan and Thomas Lammot.

Next Gene was defeated in his race against Senator Richard B. Russell. After that came 1938 and FDR's effort to purge Senator Walter George with Lawrence Camp. Gene thought he saw his chance in that split and entered the race as, of all things, an enemy of "Big Business."

"Senator George," bellowed Gene, "is very smart. He's a great constitutional lawyer, but he is also a power in the Senate for Big Business."

Gene ran a good race—good enough to go Hughes-like to bed thinking he had won—but George edged him out. The character and events of Gene's next term as governor are recent history and require no rehearsal. Suffice it to say, before it was over he was using police in a physical way to administer Georgia's government.

YOUNG HERMAN has shown a good many signs of being Gene all over again, but neither Herman nor Russell are sufficiently developed to establish that their performances will be of the stripe of their fathers'. It is conceivable that, reflected as the images of their fathers,' they will develop more wholesomely.

The Advertiser is a good deal less than an expert on either the youthful senator or governor. But it is convinced that their election, all apart from any question of their personal merit, is regrettable. That is because they are symbols of the vicious in U. S. political life. Their election will be necessarily viewed as a vindiction of their sire's way and a requisition for more of the same.

RALPH McGILL

A Quiet Political Essay

Political campaigns are full of sound and fury, and much of it is, even as Avon's Bard did allow, signifying nothing.

The principals usually do very well, talking about platforms and the various planks. The planks selected are those which are believed to contain the most appeal to the lacks, wants, needs or emotions of the voters. An emotional one is best. If the people really are aroused about something close to their personal life then that is the "plank" to stress.

People are not interested in atomic bombs or democracy's proved virtues if they ar hungry or if their lives are uncomfortable, for whatever reason.

For example, I doubt very much if the late Eugene Talmadge would have been defeated by Ellis Arnall if the former had not needlessly done the University System considerable damage and had it removed from the list of accredited schools. This touched the lives of too many persons and of their sons and daughters. It aroused the teachers. And while the teachers are not treated too well, he is a dolt who thinks of teachers as weak and uninfluential persons who may be shoved around at will. Any politician of such mind will find himself destroyed by one of the most powerful blocs in any State.

'Rights' This year, the emphasis is on civil rights. Both Mr. Talmadge and Mr. Thompson have decried the civil rights proposal by President Truman. Mr. Talmadge insists he has denounced it the most and that Mr. Thompson had his fingers crossed. This Mr. Thompson hotly denies, so they both lay on with a will.

Mr. Thompson makes much of the State budget. His managers did provide a smart piece of work when they published the budget, and they speak well of it, as they may. Most of the excess money appears to have been spent for education and health and for the more necessary State activities.

But one wonders at six executive orders transferring $666,367.64 in extra money to the Agricultural Department. If a single farmer in the State can show any reflected benefit from that extra sum, I would be very much surprised. Whatever the explanation, this looks too much like an effort to purchase the Commissioner's political friendship. Here, too, the competition is dual.

Roads The road-building program, as always, frankly is being used for political purposes. I make haste to say not a single Governor has been less guilty. Indeed, Mr. Arnall's road efforts in behalf of the Carmichael campaign were more elaborate. The present operations appear to be more skillful, the political effect of which will not be known until September.

What we appear to need are regulations making it illegal for a Governor to provide departments with increased revenue in the six months before any campaign. The present law against letting road contracts in the final months of any term should be amended to cover situations such as the current one, to which the law does not apply, although the intent does.

Gossip It is an unusual campaign in that every political figure in the State is actively engaged. The late Bob Taylor, of Tennessee, once said of campaigning politicians that:

"They wiggle in and wiggle out,
And leave the people all in doubt
As to whether the creeper that made the track
Is going in or coming back."

Certainly many loyalties and many paths have crossed in this current campaign. The bitterest of foes are the closest of friends; the closest of friends are the bitterest of foes.

The issues largely are ignored, as is the unhappy custom.

The campaign is one of personalities, with the Messrs. Talmadge, Thompson, Arnall, Rivers, Harris and their lieutenants busily engaged in hanging out repeatedly washed political linen.

Lessons Two recent events have presented political object lessons for all those persons who are trying to soak up wisdom for political careers, or pick up the art of political kingmaking in a few easy lessons. At Vidalia, Ga., the Talmadge planners arranged what could have been a very effective political weapon. When their candidate finished his address a third or more of the crowd left as the rival candidate was being introduced. Had this been all of it, the next speaker, who happened to be former Governor Rivers, would have been deflated to a degree. But a few of the dolts, who must be watched always if they can't be driven out of the camp, as is the best plan, remained to heckle and boo. Mr. Rivers, who is one of the best stump speakers in our generation, skilfully kept them going for a good 30 minutes. He played on them like a fiddler at a hoe-down. He was then a martyr and a hero and even some of those against him were angered into sympathy for him because of the booers, who were good and loud, since their wind could blow unobstructed through their brain spaces.

The second incident was the recent wreck in which Candidate Talmadge was hurt and could well have been killed. When he finishes his speeches there usually is a competition among his friends to snatch him away so as to have the honor of driving him home or to the next speaking engagement. He had gone to the speaking in a car supplied for the campaign. But he went, reluctantly, with friends, who managed to turn the car over into a ditch about 40 minutes after the afternoon speaking. There was a young lady in the car, and when the wreck happened her friends foolishly gave another name, when there was no need to do so, since her presence was perfectly proper. But this thoughtlessness supplied grist for the gossip mills and embarrassment when there was nothing to conceal about a wreck which occurred in broad daylight on the public highway. The moral of the story is—protect your candidate from his friends. They may kill him, or his campaign, with their idea of being good to him.

Meanwhile, Congress overshadows the State races. And the issues of the State races, which ought to be those of the State, get involved with the national scene. That isn't too good, but it is inevitable.

34a(1) 1948

Gubernatorial (Louisiana)

Louisiana Voters Are All Set To Pick Governor Tuesday

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Thurs 1-15-48

BATON ROUGE, LA., Jan. 14.—(AP)—A record-breaking registration of voters has the politicians guessing in Louisiana, where standard-bearers of the old Huey P. Long organization and the recently victorious opposition clash again in a gubernatorial primary next Tuesday.

Secretary of State Wade O. Martin, Jr., estimates that 900,000 voters are registered—but there will be no official compilation until March. This figure compares with about 716,050 four years ago. Thurs 1-15-48

Two former governors are among the candidates—Earl K. Long, brother of the late Senator Long, and acknowledged head of his faction, and Sam H. Jones, whose election eight years ago ended a 12-year dominance of the statehouse by Huey Long's followers. The present "singing governor," Jimmie Davis, is a political ally of Jones.

Also seeking the governorship are Rep. James H. Morrison, of Louisiana's sixth congressional district, who has run twice before, and Cuort of Appeals Judge Robert S. Kennon, who is making a bid for the veteran vote.

1-15-48

Morrison has been endorsed by the New Orleans old regular Democratic organization, which has declared its independence of the Long faction after a dozen years as a virtual satellite. Democratic nomination is equivalent to election in Louisiana. Most observers look for none of the four candidates to gain a majority Tuesday. In such a case the two high candidates would meet in a run-off Feb. 17.

The large registration is doubly puzzling to the politicians because Louisianians have given little other evidence of more than ordinary interest in the campaign. There have been predictions of a large "silent vote."

Some campaigners discount the increased figure heavily, saying that, since there has been no general re-registration since 1940, the rolls are now cluteered with names of persons who moved about during the turbulent war years. Yet the state, and especially some of its cities, which retained portions of war-born industries, are known to have gained considerably in population. The Advertiser

Negro registration is estimated to have doubled, at least, although such an increase would still provide only a small minority of the total of eligible voters. Labor unions with a large Negro membership have been especially active since labor legislation intensified union political action, in having all members register, regardless of race. Thurs 1-15-48

However, no candidate has appealed for the Negro vote, and there has been no "white supremacy" issue in the campaign.

Few issues have developed, but there has been much oratory about the road-building and other services provided under Huey P. Long, and about the scandals that overtook some of his successors in 1939-40. Montgomery, Ala.

ANALYST SAYS

Bloc Vote By Negroes Unlikely In Primary

The Informer

34a(1)

(LA)

by FRED KANE

NEW ORLEANS With the Democratic gubernatorial primary only a few days off, and with a record-breaking number of Negro voters ready to participate throughout the state of Louisiana political analysts this week advanced the opinion that the race has narrowed down to two candidates insofar as the Negro vote is concerned.

While the Negro vote appeared to be well divided last week with groups in all sections of the state showing interest in four candidates, Sam Jones, Judge Robert F. Kennon, Earl K. Long and Congressman Jimmie Morrison, the general opinion is that Sam will be the man to beat in the second primary.

Running in close order behind Sam Jones are Long and Morrison whose followers, too, say on the one hand that it will be Jones and Morrison in the second primary; and on the other hand that it will be Jones and Long in the second primary.

Thursday Jan 15 48

GOVERNOR WRIGHT'S SPEECH

A Christian Index

DID Governor Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi, in his inaugural address last week introduce a new type of "bilboism"? Governor Wright's apprpoach is more subtle, more dangerous, and more undermining to the principles of democracy than Bilbo. Bilbo was erratic, vulgar, insulting and too openingly offensive in his attacks for respectable southerners to openly support him. Millions shared Bilbo's views but opposed his frank and uncamouflaged approach.

Governor Wright's speech supports every prejudice and hatred that Bilbo sought to preserve. But Governor Wright indicates that he will be far more effective than Bilbo because he is more skillful in adding to his speech a touch of respectability, poise, and distorted patriotic appeal. Governor Wright will probably be more effective than Bilbo because he has an uncanny ability to reverse ideals of democracy and convincingly show at least to some southern whites that it is undemocratic to demand anti-poll tax, anti-lynching and Fair Employment Practice Laws and the proposals to eradicate segregation. Jackson Tennessee

Governor Wright claims that legislation for rights of Negroes and democracy are "infamous proposals." He charged "that the advocates of today's anti-southern legislation . . . are using as their tools such infamous proposals as FEPC, anti-lynching legislation, anti-poll tax bills and now anti-segregation proposals."

Governor Wright is quite an adept in the subtle but brazen perversion of setting forth undemocratic ideals with pious expressions and terms of democracy.

He said, "The time has come for the militant people of the South and the nation who have never shirked any responsibility to band together for the preservation of true Amercanism" . . . (does he mean lynching?)

"We of the South will no longer tolerate being the target of this type of legislation which would not only destroy our way of life but which if enacted will eventually destroy the United States." Thu. 1-29-48

Governor Wright repeatedly referred to the liberal movements and legislation for democracy in the South as "a campaign of abuse and misrepresentation being levelled against our section by those who seek to tear down and disrupt our institutions and our way of life."

It is difficult to conceive how the most illiterate and the most prejudiced of our brethren could be gullible enough to believe that Governor Wright is sincere when he said: "Here in Mississippi and the South may be found the greatest example in human history of harmonious relationship ever recorded as existing between two so different and so distinct races as the white and the Negro living so close together and in such nearly equal numbers." 1-29-48 Thu.

It is probable the nation will readily class Mr. Wright with his other infamous colleagues and predecessors who are ambassadors of ill will and hate. At present, however, his approach has won the sanction of the *Commercial Appeal*, the *Atlanta Constitution* and some other leading southern newspapers. But it is unlikely that he will be able to check the onward movement and the increasing determination of southern masses to bring full democracy into the south. Let us pray that Governor Wright's speech is just another gasp of dying southern bigotry.

34a(1) 1948 Gubernatorial (Missouri)

"Cap" Manvel Davis Continues To Gain In GOP Governor Primary

The American St. Louis, Mo.
Thurs. 7-15-48

With the Missouri primary election only three weeks away, the campaign of "Cap" Manvel Davis of Kansas City for Governor on the Republican ticket has steadily grown. Out of the 28 wards in St. Louis, it is known that 20 of them already are pledged to his support. In St. Louis County "Cap" Davis already had a commanding lead, and is expected to carry from the city and county a big vote.

The swing to the Kansas-born Davis is based upon his long and staunch record for progressive action. To the Colored voters he has top appeal because his background is from the Republican seeded free Kansas, where the foreparents of "Cap" Davis were on the side of "free soil and free men." He came back from the first world war and settled in Kansas City, Mo., where he got into the fight to rid that city of the Pendergast machine rule. After nearly a generation of Missouri governors who have shown little and no concern for ending the conservatism of the ante-bellum days, the chance to elect a progressive Republican in November has aroused the voters. "Cap" Davis' supporters expect him to maintain his steady increased popularity on through August 3, primary election day.

Thurs. 7-15-48

Rabun Spurns Wallace Party To Run as Liberal Democrat

The Constitution Tues. Atlanta, Ga. 5-11-48

The Rev. Joseph Rabun Monday turned down the gubernatorial nomination of the newly formed Peoples' Progressive Party. He declared he would win or lose in the Democratic primary and would not run as a Peoples' Progressive Party nor as an independent candidate in the general election.

Rabun issued his statement in reply to an offer of the new party that he be its nominee.

"I shall continue to maintain my position as a Liberal Democrat, independent of the control of any group or faction, but seeking the support of all the citizens of Georgia in the Democratic primary Sept. 8," Rabun said. 5-11-48

"There is much more reason for the gradual liberalization of the Democratic Party than to act too hastily and unadvisedly about Southern and National politics. I consider some of the actions of the new party ill-advised, though I can speak only as an observer. 5-11-48

The people's thinking and mode of living cannot be changed overnight. True progress can best be attained by evolution rather than by revolution of whatever kind," Rabun concluded.

The Constitution

Accomplished Orator, Rabun in Uphill Fight

Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 4-25-48

Note: This is the final in a series of sketches of candidates for the Democratic nomination for Governor.

By M. L. ST. JOHN

The Rev. Joseph Rabun is the most accomplished orator of any of the candidates seeking the Democratic nomination for Governor.

The 40-year-old, handsome, athletic former fighting Chaplain and ousted Pastor of Herman Talmadge's church at McRae has no idea whether he will win the governorship—but he says the big registration of voters who are unseating county political machines throughout Georgia may give the old-line politicians a surprise in the gubernatorial election this year.

Inexperienced in politics, he is fighting an uphill battle, he says, primarily to give the people of Georgia a chance to make for an honest and progressive State Administration. How successfully his campaign progresses depends upon the amount of financial and other support that comes his way from people tired of factionalism, Rabun remarks. The Constitution

Organized labor, displeased with both Acting Gov. Thompson and Herman Talmadge for signing the labor-curbing bills in 1947, is showing marked interest in Rabun's campaign. Atlanta, Ga.

Noting the farm vote obtained by Harold Stassen, Republican liberal, in Nebraska, Rabun says that those Georgia gubernatorial candidates who are looking for the "ignorant wool hat boys" to put them into office may be amazed to find that Georgia's farmers are becoming more liberal-minded and intelligent. Sun. 4-25-48

Rabun is waging a hard-hitting campaign in a few speeches thus far. He says he doesn't believe in mudslinging, but he tears into Talmadge with charges of an alliance with the Ku Klux Klan and he lashes Thompson for trying to play both sides of the fence instead of sticking to liberalism.

"If we had to go into battle with the kind of leadership they are offering us at the present time," said Rabun, referring to both Thompson and Talmadge, "which is not at all the kind of leadership of which they are honestly capable, we could not win a single battle."

That is "clean mud" he is using, Rabun says. It is an attack on his opponents' public records, and does not delve into their private lives. Atlanta, Ga. 4-25-48

Different from Hoke O'Kelley, Talmadge and Thompson, Rabun is not operating on the civic club circuit. His talks have centered in Atlanta chiefly, and have usually been broadcast over a Statewide radio program. He talks politics and sees no point in telling the civic leaders the advantages of growing pine trees when governmental reforms are urgent, Rabun declares. Sun.

Rabun's platform opposes a sales tax, favors a $100,000,000 road-building program and a $50 old-age pension. The Constitution

The young minister spends much time preparing each speech. He tells humorous stories in his talks. At present he glances frequently at notes while speaking, but does so without detracting too much from his appealing voice, which was trained in public speaking in college and experienced in sermon delivering. 4-25-48

Rabun received national attention when the McRae Baptist Church ousted him as pastor after he opposed the "White Primary" Bill. Atlanta, Ga.

He was in the hottest section of World War II, landing with the Marine assault wave at Guam and Bougainville and spending more than a year on Guadalcanal. The chaplain was honorably discharged from the Navy with the rank of Lieutenant-Commander.

A nephew of Gov. William Rabun of early Georgia days, Joe Rabun was born in Albany, Ga. He left high school to join the Navy. While in the Navy he decided to enter the ministry. Upon his discharge from the Navy in California, Rabun attended Glendale High School and the University of Redlands, working his way through school. He won letters in track, swimming, football, baseball and basketball. He then attended Andover Newton Theological School, near Boston, Mass. He held pastorates in Florida and Alabama before going to Montezuma, Ga.—the church he left to volunteer for service in World War II. 4-25-48

Mr. and Mrs. Rabun and their two daughters now are making their home in Valdosta. Sun.

JOE RABUN 4-25-48

Rabun, Candidate For Governor Of Ga., Accepts Rights Points

ATLANTA — (NNPA) — Joe Rabun, one of the candidates for governorship of Georgia, charged Monday night, Aug. 23, that Georgians had been misled about President Truman's civil rights program.

One other candidate, Acting Governor Melvin E. Thompson, accused his chief opponent, Herman Talmadge, of stirring up race hatred and injecting the civil rights issue into the campaign, although Talmadge knows he is "bitterly opposed" to the civil rights program.

In a radio address, Rabun discussed the three controversal aspects of civil rights — anti-lynching, anti-discrimination in employment, and anti-segregation legislation.

"Lynch mobs have done more to break down the laws of your state than any other one thing," Rabun said, "Can you think of one defense in the world for this kind of practice?"

REALISTIC VIEWS

As to fair employment practice legislation, Rabun contended, the most outspoken opponents are those who have been hiring colored workers for less money than they pay white workers.

Rabun dismissed the abolition of segregation in railway travel as nothing new, declaring all railroads operating through Georgia voluntary adopted the policy of nonsegregation some 18 months ago.

He emphasized there was nothing new in the civil rights program about "social equality" and added that regardless of which candidate is elected, Congress will in all probability pass such a law.

In his opening statement in a face-to-face radio debate with Talmadge, Governor Thompson charged his opponent with "stirring up prejudice, hatred and dissension among our people." He declared that although Talmadge "knows I am bitterly opposed to the federal civil-rights program the FEPC, to anti-segregation and to bloc-voting, he keeps shouting about these false issues in a vain hope of attracting a few votes to his rapidly disintegrating campaign."

INJECTS WHITE PRIMARY

Talmadge, in his opening remarks, accused Mr. Thompson of helping to draft "the white primary bill." He said Thompson claimed to be for it and his friend in the House of the Georgia legislature, Representative Charles Gowen, "amended it. Yet the first thing Mr. Thompson did when be became acting governor was to veto this bill."

At Ellijay Tuesday, Aug. 24, Governor Thompson told a large crowd at the Gilmer County Courthouse that Georgia's prosperity depends on an end to demagoguery in the state.

He said, as he did earlier in the day at Dahlonega, that industries are moving South. They will skip this state and go to others if they feel Georgia is split in political upheaval, he predicted.

"POLITICAL ISSUE"

The acting governor pointed to remarks made by Talmadge at Trion recently at the "lowest level yet reached in false issues and demagoguery.

"Talmadge said that the people's white sons and daughters would be working in the mills under Negro supervision," Thompson said. He described such a statement as an insult to the intelligence of Georgia management and Georgia people.

"The civil rights program was nutured in Washington politics, used by both parties for political reasons and will die a political death," he declared.

Georgians Misled On Civil Rights, Says Joe Rabun

Gubernatorial Candidate Joe Rabun, charged last night that Georgians had been misled about the Civil Rights program.

In a radio address Rabun discussed the three controversial aspects of Civil Rights—anti-lynch law, FEPC and anti-segregation laws.

"Lynch mobs have done more to break down the laws of your State than any other one thing," he said. "Can you think of one defense in the world for this kind of practice?"

As to the FEPC, he contended the most outspoken opponents are those who have been hiring the Negro for less money than they pay white workers.

Rabun dismissed anti-segregation in railway travel as nothing new, declaring all railroads operating through Georgia voluntarily adopted this policy some 18 months ago.

He emphasized there was nothing in the Civil Rights program about "social equality" and added that regardless of which candidate is elected, the National Congress will in all probability pass such a bill.

RABUN DECALRES HIMSELF

WE SEE BY THE PAPERS that militant Rev. Joseph A. Rabun, who was kicked out of the McRae Baptist Church, McRae Georgia, last year after he had said unkind things loudly and long about Eugene Talmadge and white supremacy, has announced that he will be a cadidate for Governor in the Georgia state primary.

The youthful World II chaplain declared: "My candidacy has no pressure behind it represents no special or private interests, is not prompted by personal ambition, and shall be financed, insofar as such support is available, by the contributions of all citizens interested in and concerned about an honest progressive, democratic administration.

"The fundamental issues of the campaign are being avoided by the present gubernatorial candidates."

Mr. Rabun's candidacy will naturally be laughed off by the white supremacy crowd which will attempt to make the people consider him a radical and impractical whippersnapper.

Hope may be seen however, in the fact that Georgia did elect Ellis Arnall who gave the state a liberal and enlightened administration.

From what we've seen of Rabun and Arnall, the Georgia minister looms as even a truer liberal than ex-Governor Arnall.

The incumbent, Governor Thompson, is a very diluted liberal who attempts to play both sides of the fence with the emphasis on keeping the white supremists satisfied.

We're rooting for Rabun because rooting for Rabun means rooting for right.

And maybe, Rev., that would make a good campaign slogan.

Remember?

Was Ousted From His Pulpit By Race-Hater

ATLANTA, Ga.—The militant Rev. Joseph A. Rabun former pastor of Eugene Talmadge's McRae Baptist church, announced Saturday that he is a candidate for governor in the Georgia state primary.

Rev. Rabun, a chaplain in the Navy during the war, attracted nationwide attention during the 1947 tumultous Georgia legislature when he spoke against the white primary bill sponsored by Herman Talmadge and his henchmen. He was at that time pastor of the McRae Baptist church of which the late Governor Eugene Talmadge had held membership.

Several months following his appearance before the legislative committee, his congregation ousted him. He has since moved to Valdosta.

After his ouster, the minister said that 11 of the church deacons "placed the name of Talmadge before that of God."

He said, "My candidacy has no pressure behind it, represents no special or private interest, is not prompted by personal ambition and shall be financed, insofar as such support is available, by the contributions of all citizens interested in, and concerned about an honest, progressive, democratic administration.

Only thus can the administration of the affairs of the state be returned to the hands of the people to whom it belongs, the voters of Georgia."

Rev. Rabun said that the fundamental issues of the campaign are being avoided by the present gubernatorial candidates.

The forces of Herman Talmadge said that Rev. Rabun will eventually support Governor M. E. Thompson and then run as an independent candidate in the general election, if Talmadge fails to be nominated.

Rev. Rabun is a native of Georgia and his great-great uncle was governor of Georgia in 1817 to 1819. He has courageously defended Negroes' right to an equal opportunity in Georgia and throughout the Southland.

Joseph Rabun Enters State Governor Race

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga. Jan 27-48

By M L. ST. JOHN

Even as some Henry Wallace-for-President leaders sought to have him run as an independent candidate for Governor, the Rev. Joseph Rabun, friend of Wallace, Saturday threw his hat into the Democratic ring for the gubernatorial nomination, and set off speculations as to what effect his entry would have on the race between Acting Gov. Thompson and Herman Talmadge.

In his announcement from Macon, the 39-year-old former Navy combat chaplain and ousted pastor of the Talmadge church at McRae, declared he could no longer escape his own responsibility or reject the challenge to his faith and courage caused by "the lack of courage among our public servants." 2-8-48

Rabun charged that candidates are studiously avoiding fundamental issues which should be placed before a perplexed citizenry. Sun.

Rabun some months ago stopped efforts of a group of labor leaders —dissatisfied with both Talmadge and Thompson—to draft him for Governor. He commented at that time that a split in the anti-Talmadge forces would assure the nomination of Talmadge. When Wallace visited Georgia, Rabun told a Negro audience at Macon that an independent should run for governor in the general election if the Democratic nominee was not satisfactory. This caused rumors that Rabun might be an independent candidate. 2-3-48

Some supporters of Talmadge failed to take Rabun's announcement seriously Saturday. Talmadge himself had predicted on Jan. 22 Rabun would support Thompson in the Democrtic primary and then run as an independent in the general election. Some Talmadge leaders were inclined to stick by this prediction Saturday.

Thompson was attending the Southern Governors' Conference at Tallahassee, Fla., and could not be reached for comment. Some of his followers, however, did not believe Rabun could take enough votes from Thompson to cause the election of Talmadge. Atlanta, Ga.

As the Democratic primary took on new interest, E. D. Allen, the head of the short-lived Draft-Eisenhower-for-President Movement in Georgia, announced he would seek the Republican nomination for Governor and would ask the Republican Party to sponsor a gubernatorial candidate for the first time in years. The Constitution

Allen, credit manager of an Atlanta manufacturing firm, said he would ask the Roy Foster Republican State Convention here in a few months to nominate him.

He outlined a platform which would prevent the Legislature from raising the appropriation bill without submitting it to the people to ra vote; would grant $100 bonuses to World War II veterans, to be financed by taxes on liquor, beer, and gasoline; would replace the present tax structure (except that on liquor, beer, and gasoline) with a gross income tax; would elect one Supreme Court Justice and one Court of Appeals Judge from each Congressional District, 8 and 4 would limit all State, County, and City elected officials to two terms.

The Foster Committee filled vacancies on its committee in a brief session at the Fulton County Courthouse Saturday, and then recessed until March 6.

As Rabun announced his candidacy, he said he is not being sponsored by any pressure group. He said he would wage an active speaking campaign. A native Georgian, Rabun is a great-great-nephew of William Rabun, Georgia's Governor in 1817. The Constitution

Time of the Democratic Primary has not been definitely set, pending a State Supreme Court decision on which faction is in control of the party. The Court meets Monday. There is no indication, however, when the decision may be handed down. Atlanta, Ga.

Party in Georgia, to Georgians seeking support for Wallace. The Chase letter said the Communists wouldn't control the Third Party, but that Communists would contribute their experiece in helping develop the Third Party. 2-8-48

McDowell called on Wallace to "either accept or denounce this Communist support." (Wallace has suggested that all Presidential candidates disavow the support of (1) those who advocate the overthrow of the government, and (2) those who suppress civil rights. Sun.

Ousted Minister Seeks Governor's

The Inquirer
Montgomery, Ala.

Post In Georgia

Jan 2 3 48

MACON, GA., Feb. 7.—(U.P.)—A Baptist minister who was ousted from a church post because of his "anti-white supremacy" views Saturday began a race for governor of Georgia.

The Rev. Joseph Rabun, a one time Marine chaplain, announced here that he will run because of "the strong urging from the people all over the state."

Herman Talmadge, son of the fourth governor who died before he could take office for a term beginning last January, is a sure entrant in the Democratic primary this year, as is Gov. M. E. Thompson. Thompson won the place in a court fight with young Talmadge, who seized power for three months.

"My faith and courage have been challenged by the lack of insight or courage on the part of our public servants," Rabun's formal announcement said. "In view of my own inability to escape the sense of urgency, and strong urging from the people all over the state, I am therefore accepting the challenge offered me to represent the interests of the people of Georgia." The Constitution

He will soon announce a program and begin a speaking tour, Rabun said. He planned to run without the backing of "pressure groups" and will seek contributions from those concerned about "an honest, progressive, democratic government." Montgomery, Ala.

Rabun, whose great-great uncle was a governor of Georgia more than a century ago, was dismissed from his church in McRae, Ga., which was attended by the late Eugene Talmadge, father of Herman. His dismissal came after he testified before the legislature against proposed "white supremacy" laws. Sun. 2-8-48

Pastor Rabun Is Persuaded

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Jan 27 48

We note from the paper that the Rev. Joseph A. Rabun, who was ousted from his church at McRae, Ga., for insisting that qualified Negroes had the right to vote, has announced himself as candidate for Governor on an independent basis.

We recall, quite plainly, a bit of advice, freely offered, at the time he was ousted. We said that he had done a proper and courageous thing in standing by his convictions. We went on to say we hoped he would be aware of the fact that there would be those who, lacking courage themselves, would seek to use him to exploit their own views and to push their own little red wagons. We advised him to stay away from them and to keep on preaching. The Constitution

He didn't take it. Which is all right with us. He didn't ask for it. 2-9-48

But, we think he has made a mistake. We believe he is being used to his own detriment, and that his usefulness as a minister is largely destroyed. As a political candidate, he will not be a factor. He has mixed his ministerial career with politics and that isn't a workable combination. Those who have used his character for their own ends will drop him when they have finished using him. Those who fired him will now justify their action. We think he is a good and sincere man and we are sorry. Atlanta, Ga.

Rabun Sets His 'Rights' Campaign

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Thurs 2-26-48

By M. L. ST. JOHN

While Acting Gov. Thompson and Herman Talmadge sought to out-do each other in denouncing President Truman's civil-rights proposals, Gubernatorial Candidate Joseph Rabun Wednesday announced the opening of his campaign, observing the South itself already should have taken steps to protect the civil rights of its citizens.

Rabun will open his speaking campaign for the governorship with a radio broadcast here Friday night. He outlined a 10-point platform, headed by a call for repeal of anti-labor laws.

Acting Gov. Thompson Wednesday added heat to his previous opposition of Mr. Truman's civil-rights recommendations. Thompson's statement wa attacked by Talmadge, who accused the Acting Governor f "rendering lip service only" to Georgia while actually "being in favor of the entire race program sponsored by President Truman and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

Thompson charged that the civil-rights issues had been raised and kept alive for political purposes and political purposes only. He said he opposed as unwise and unnecessary Federal laws for anti-poll tax, anti-lynching, and anti-segregation. He said he was against the FEPC.

Thompson went to Macon Wednesday night for a district caucus with his supporters. Talmadge recently has been holding such organizational caucuses over the State. The Constitution

Visiting in Atlanta, the Rev. Mr. Rabun, of Valdosta, drew this analogy of the South and the civil-rights issue:

"It is like a small child being forced to take medicine for its own good. Had the child taken care of its own health, it wouldn't have unpleasant medicine forced on it." Atlanta, Ga.

Rabun said he believed the Wallace movement in Georgia would place an independent candidate for Governor and some independent candidates for Congress in the General Election. He said he was in the Democratic primary to stay, and branded as false speculations he might be the Wallace candidate in the General Election. 2-26-48

Rabun's platform calls for repeal of two labor-curbing laws passed in 1947; establishment of the secret ballot; no sales tax, but increased taxes on corporate net profits; a $100,000,000 rural road-building program; State help for small farmers; $50 monthly old-age pensions; veterans' priorities in jobs, business and housing; minimum of $2,400 annual salary for teachers, and better bus service, better schools and hot lunches; protection of small business against monopolistic corporations; hospital and medical service in every county, and strengthening of democracy and democratic institutions, with full economic and political freedom for all citizens.

Trade Offer Made Him, Rabun Says

The Constitution 7-13-48 Atlanta, Ga.

The Rev. Joseph Rabun Wednesday night said supporters of a leading gubernatorial candidate here offered him a trade to get him out of the race. At the same time, Candidate Rabun charged that a tie-up exists between Herman Talmadge and the Ku Klux Klan's pre-election cross burnings.

In Atlanta to address Greater Atlanta Post No. 30 Veterans of Foreign Wars, Rabun told newsmen that backers of one of the gubernatorial candidates offered him "strong support" for Lieutenant-Governor" if he would get out of the race for Governor. Rabun declined to name the persons making the overtures, but declared he could not be "bought off."

Acting Gov. Thompson and Talmadge both denied approaching Rabun. Talmadge said he had no doubt but that Thompson's supporters made the overture since Rabun would draw many of Thompson's "Negro supporters."

In his talk to the VFW, Rabun hit Thompson for helping draft the "White Primary" Bill, and Talmadge's support of the "White Primary."

Thurs. 7-15-48

"A candidate some months ago called upon his followers to see to it that Georgia has a 'white primary,'" Rabun said. "Thus, he has shown his hand. There is, literally and figuratively, a 'white primary' in each County where Klan intimidation has kept voters away from the polls. His followers have shown no fairness, no spirit of decency and democracy, no semblance of a Christian attitude toward certain citizens who would register and vote."

Joe Rabun, Ousted McRae Pastor, Qualifies in Gubernatorial Race

The Constitution 7-42-D Atlanta, Ga.

Sun 6-13-48

Rev. Joe Rabun, ousted pastor of the Talmadge church at McRae, yesterday officially qualified here to run for Governor in the Democratic Primary on an anti-Talmadge, anti-Thompson platform.

"The people of Georgia do not want candidates whose only platform has one rotten plank of prejudice and hatred against minorities in the social structure," Rabun said.

"Neither do they want continued graft and political corruption and double-dealing designed to provide beds of ease for political chameleons, opportunists, Ku Kluxers and race baiteds."

Referring to a Constitution editorial concerning a rumored $50,000 payoff in connection with Downing Musgrove's appointment as State Revenue Commissioner, Rabun said: The Constitution

"My information is stronger than a hint. There's a big payoff involved. The people of Georgia ought to know about it." 6-13-48

Rabun said he did not plan a smear campaign this Summer but assured reporters he would bring out more facts on this subject.

The former Marine Corps chaplain said he would be his own campaign manager. He said he would select a campaign committee chairman, however, and probably set up headquarters somewhere in Atlanta. Atlanta, Ga.

The Baptist preacher made his statement after handing over five $100 bills to Joe Boone, Democratic Executive Committee Secretary, in the lobby of the Henry Grady Hotel.

Rabun then handed cards around to newsmen on which he had listed his platform "for Georgia's progress." The Constitution

The platform sets out a program for rural roads, constitutional Highway Department, $50 monthly old-age pensions, $2,400 minimum teacher salary, extended hospital and medical service, veterans' homestead exemptions, protection of labor's right to organize and bargain and protection of small business against monopolies.

Rabun said he was opposed to a sales tax to finance such a program. He proposed raising funds by increased taxes on corporate net profits and on salaries over $6,000. Atlanta, Ga.

"I wish I could pay an income tax," he remarked jokingly. "I paid one only once." Sun

Rabun's official statement follows in full: 6-13-48

"In filing today for the Governor's race, I am forever putting an end to the story that I may withdraw from the campaign. I am prepared to honestly and truthfully answer any and all questions about my candidacy, whoever asks them.

"Georgians want a Governor who can stand on his own feet and in his own shoes. They want a man who believes in individual and State responsibilities above the mere privileges or rights. They are sick and tired of Political factions dominatd by political hacks and quacks who don't know or care what the people of Georgia want.

"The people of Georgia do not want candidates whose only platform has one rotten plank of prejudice and hatred against minorities in the social structure.

"Neither do they want continued graft and political corruption and double-dealing designed to provide beds of ease for political chameleons, opportunists, Ku Kluxers and race baiters.

"The Acting Governor asked those who attended the recent Jackson-Jefferson Day dinner in Atlanta to "Remember that a man is known by the company he keeps." Connect that with his most recent statement that appointments provide the biggest trap for a Governor in the success of his administration. It shows his utter disregard for the kind of company he keeps, as revealed in recent political appointments, and sets a trap in which he can only hope to catch himself.

"A prominent Ku Klux Klan organizer and smooth-tongue political orator is now in full control of our State government.

"This Kluxer, the newly appointed State Revenue Commissioner, and a notorious Atlanta liquor racketeer have been closeted in a downtown Atlanta hote flor the past week.

"The dry county liquor racket being operated in thi sState must cease. The hint of graft, shakedowns and payoffs to persons high within the administration are cause for real concern among our people. Sun

"Someone must make this fight. I cannot sit idly by while my State slips even further into the clutches of greedy, self-seeking political grafters. My opposition are mere pawns in the hands of discredited professional politicians.

"Everyone knows that Herman Talmadge is a mere vassal in the hands of Roy Harris, the political lobbyist.

"These factions are asking Georgians to choose between the lesser of two evils. Those who join forces wit hucs hrabble outfits are only hitching their broken-down wagons to falling stars. They are making their honeymoon beds in which they shal bl feorced to lie—and lie, and lie, and lie. 6-13-48

"My own pledges are made directly to all the people, to whom the high office of Governor belongs. I have not, and will not, pledge special favors to some and a cold shuolder to others. I can only pledge honesty, fairness and high integrity in my administration.

"Joe Rabun is the only candidate who has entered the Governor's race completely on his own and with clean hands. I am convinced that is what the people want."

Rabun Asks Thompson To Leave Race

The Constitution 7-20-48 Atlanta, Ga.

Gubernatorial candidate Joe Rabun last night called on Act. Gov. M. E. Thompson to withdraw from the Governor's race and "let me have Herman Talmadge single-handed—I can handle him."

Rabun charged that "M. E. Thompson is playing the Rivers role in this campaign." Sun

Rabun also demanded that the Acting Governor force State Revenue Commissioner Downing Musgrove to collect all back taxes of a liquor concern. 7-24-48

Musgrove told newsmen that he might have a statement today or whether he intends to collect approximately $16,000 in taxes from Paramount Distilleries at Albany. For the past few weeks, Musgrove has been waiting for a chemical analysis to determine whether the product exported from Albany is "drinkable liquor" and therefore subject to tax.

Musgrove recently replaced Glenn Phillips as Revenue Commissioner. Phillips was insisting that the distillery was subject to the tax. Atlanta

Rabun said that some people high in the Thompson Administration are reported to be connected with this distillery. Ga.

Taking a crack at Herman Talmadge's promise of an educational qualification law, Rabun declared, "I am unalterably opposed to an educational requirement as a prerequisite to voting in free and democratic elections. I further propose an amendment to the Constitution of Georgia to insure that the rights of citizens to vote shall not be denied or abridged because, color, creed or national origin. The Constitution

Rabun Links Opponents With Klan

Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Sun 7-25-48

Special to The Constitution

GRIFFIN, July 24—The Rev. Joe Rabun, candidate for Governor, drew heavily on alleged connections of his political opponents with the Ku Klux Klan in a political speech prepared for delivery here today.

The platforms of Herman Talmadge and Acting Gov. Thompson are "similar, if not identical, designed to appeal in desperation to get the Klan vote and fool honest voters," Rabun charged.

Rabun traced a Klan link to Acting Gov. Thompson through Thompson's political supporter, ex-Gov. E. D. Rivers, "the smooth-tongued orator and former Klan organizer." 7-25-48

Rabun charged people in Rivers' administration made a lucrative livelihood selling asphalt to the State, particularly former Klan Imperial Wizard Dr. Hiram Wesley Evans who paid a $15,000 fine on charges of monopolizing asphalt emulsion sales to the State.

Talmadge, Rabun said, was connected with the Klan through one of his supporters, Judge T. Hicks Fort, of Columbus. Rabun said Fort "misused his office of judge" by issuing a charter to the Columbus Klan recently.

Rabun also blasted the Klan's principles. 7-25-48

"If the Klan successfully continues to intimidate helpless colored people and people who oppose the Klan's Nazi beliefs, how long will it be before the Klan turns against Catholics, Jews, Masons, laborers, teachers, editors, ministers and all others they don't like?"

Rabun also spoke at Montezuma, Butler, Thomaston and Zebulon.

THAT MAN AGAIN

THE REV. JOSEPH RABUN, formerly Navy Lieutenant Commander and the militant minister who was thrown out of the pastorate of the McRae Baptist Church in Georgia because he attacked the "white supremacy" policies of Herman Talmadge is in the news again. The Star

Rabun is now a candidate for the governorship in Georgia and is being supported by liberal and veterans groups.

Addressing the Veterans of Foreign Wars in Atlanta, Wednesday night, the clergyman accused the Ku Klux Klan of enforcing a white primary in the state by pre-election cross burnings and intimidation despite gubernatorial veto of a white primary act. New York, N.Y.

Rabun charged that a tie-up exists between a rival "candidate for the governorship and the Klan. Sat 7-24-48

While not naming the candidate, Rabun made inferences which pointed pretty directly to young Talmadge who has not yet formally announced his candidacy, but who is expected to do so momentarily.

The minister, who hardly, if ever, bites his tongue, declared:

"There is literally and figuratively, a white primary in each county where the Klan intimidation has kept voters away from the rolls. His followers have shown no fairness, no spirit of decency and democracy toward certain citizens who would register and vote."

Georgia would do well to listen to the bold fearless voice of this crusader for a democratic South.

'Loyal Sons of South' Win Praise Of Talmadge in Pelham Address

Atlanta Constitution

PELHAM, July 15—It is time to stand up and be counted on the questions of State's rights and so-called civil rights legislation, Herman Talmadge told a crowd of Southwest Georgians here today as he helped dedicate a new American Legion clubhouse.

Departing from his planned speech, the youthful gubernatorial aspirant praised "the loyal sons of the South for their fight last night in Philadelphia" at the Democratic National Convention.

It was apparent at the convention, Talmadge said, that the Southerners, in opposing President Truman, were "fighting for a cause that was as lost as the cause of Lee and Jackson and Gordon, but they went down fighting."

He did not mention the President by name.

"We fought for the American way of life, as soldiers and sailors," Talmadge told his fellow American Legionnaires, "and now, as civilians, we must fight just as hard for that way of life and our traditions."

In an obvious reference to FEPC legislation, Talmadge declared that "we are facing the most perilous times since 1860," explaining that "if swarms of secret police and gestapo are sent into Georgia and Mitchell County to tell every employer whom he can and cannot hire and fire, it will destroy business and every vestige of our liberties.

"If you want to go to theaters with people of your own color, that's your business," he said, "and not the business of the Federal Government."

In adopting the principles of States' rights embodied in the Tenth Amendment, Talmadge said, the framers of the Constitution knew that "what might be beneficial for New Hampshire might be chaos for Georgia."

Aside from his reference to National affairs, Talmadge's speech was largely non-political. He did make one remark that "veterans are not now getting full benefits of the GI Bill of Rights in Georgia."

Early in his speech someone asked him to remove his coat, a favorite stunt of his late father. But Talmadge replied: "I'll do that this afternoon at Cordray's Mill: this is not a political gathering."

At Cordray's Mill in Calhoun County later in the day, he did swing into politics, declaring rural roads in Georgia are in a shameful condition, and they "are as necessary as trunk highways and more vital than access roads to such spots as Jekyll Island."

Talmadge was introduced at Pelham by his friend, Marvin Griffin, of Bainbridge, combat veteran and candidate for Lieutenant Governor, who spoke of Talmadge's 52 months of Naval service, many of them in the South Pacific.

As the new $40,000 home and swimming pool of the Smith-Spence Post No. 144 was dedicated, many Southwest Georgia Legionnaires were present.

Speakers included Post Commander C. W. Strickland, Mayor Wheatey Powell, of Pelham; Mayor "Taxi" Smith, of Albany; Second District Legion Commander Willis Conger, of Bainbridge; State Vice Commander Ed Hughes, of Camilla; Past State Commanders John Wiliams, of Valdosta, and Hoyt Wimpy, of Thomasville; District Legion Auxiliary President Mrs. Mildred Logan, of Albany, and Neeley Peacock, of Albany. Others present included Carl Jones, of Valdosta, and Glen Cowden and Cliff White, of Thomasville.

A big barbecue, beauty contest, baseball game and dance were included in the celebration.

Labor Support Is Pledged By Talmadge

The Constitution

By M. L. ST. JOHN
Constitution Staff Writer

DALTON, Aug. 25—Gubernatorial Candidate Herman Talmadge made a play for the support of organized labor in this heavily organized section of Georgia here today.

"When I am your governor I will protect labor's right to organize and bargain collectively," the candidates declared in a campaign speech.

Both Talmadge, when he was claiming the governorship last year, and Acting Gov. Thompson signed labor curbing bills which were overwhelmingly passed by the Legislature.

Talmadge commended this section for keeping in Georgia big salaries and prosperity which formerly went to other States when Georgia's raw products were shipped to out-of-State processing plants. He said he would work for the co-operation of labor and management in the interest of Georgia's future prosperity.

Talmadge announced that a poll of the Duane Chair Company employees, of Dalton, predominately CIO labor, taken today, showed him "leading over Acting Gov. Thompson by a vote of 40 to 5."

Continuing his fight on so-called civil rights program, Talmadge gave Georgia's delegation to the Democratic National Convention credit for pushing public opinion in favor of segregation upwards from 20 percent to 39 percent in Gallup polls. He said the comparisons were made prior to and following the fight made at Philadelphia by Charles Bloch, Robert Elliott and James Peters. He pledged to lead a national educational war on the FEPC.

Talmadge failed to outdraw Acting Gov. Thompson in crowds in Northwest Georgia today, according to local observers. They said that the crowds here and at Ellijay were no larger than those who heard Thompson in those two towns. Talmadge spoke later at Ringgold.

Atlanta Journal

At Ellijay, Talmadge ran into a small group of young hecklers. When he was reading from page 105 of Thompson's civic book, the hecklers yelled: "Read on, Pretender."

On the preceding day, Thompson had urged an Ellijay audience to tell Talmadge to read page 107 of his book. On page 105, Thompson gave arguments for consolidation of counties and on page 107 of the textbook he gave arguments against it.

The crowd applauded Talmadge when he told the hecklers that Thompson's book reads like the Communist Daily Worker.

Talmadge cited the employment of two Negroes as deputy sheriffs in Liberty County as an example of what could be expected when the Negro bloc vote got in control. He said that Paul Byrd and Willie Thompson, Negroes, had been employed as duputy sheriffs to aid Sheriff Paul Sikes.

Klan Throws Support to Talmadge Unanimously, Grand Dragon Says

Constitution

Leaders of the Ku Klux Klan had attended a Klan barbecue at Lithonia at which he pledged support to Klan principles, then agreed, "without one dissenting vote," to support Herman Talmadge for Governor this year, "turned the back of his hand on us." He "begged for and got Klan support in 1946," Green said.

Grand Dragon revealed here yesterday.

"I feel sure the Klan will be responsible for putting 100,000 votes in the ballot box for Talmadge," he predicted.

Talmadge is the Klan's choice because he is the man who, if elected, will serve the best of his ability, return this State into the hands of the people," Green said.

The Grand Dragon said the decision to support Talmadge was reached after meetings of Klan leaders at various times during the past year.

Green explained that the Klan only entered into an election if Klan principles were at stake. He said this year white supremacy and civil rights are vital Klan issues.

Green, who made the Klan's choice known Thursday night at a Klan barbecue at Milledgeville, said Thompson's record ruled him out as suitable for the organization's backing.

Talmadge II

Eugene Talmadge was a University of Georgia graduate and lawyer who called himself a "poor farmer." He spoke the language of Georgia's rural "wool hats" and as champion of "white supremacy" was three times elected Governor. His son, Herman, in recent years, was his campaign manager.

In November, 1946, "Ole Gene" was elected for his third four-year term. Herman or "Humman," as Georgians call him, got a few hundred write-in votes. In December, before he could be inaugurated, the elder Talmadge died. "Humman" claimed the Governorship on the basis of the write-in votes and the Legislature declared him "elected." He was challenged by the Lieutenant Governor-elect, Melvin E. Thompson, an liberal legal battle, the State Supreme Court ruled that Mr. Thompson was Governor, pending an election to fill out the elder Talmadge's unexpired term. The election is this fall.

Last week Georgia Democrats voted in a primary (tantamount to election in one-party Georgia). The chief contenders were "Humman" Talmadge, 35, and Mr. Thompson, 45. Mr. Talmadge campaigned for "white supremacy" and against President Truman's civil rights program. Mr. Thompson campaigned on his record —a new high in State revenues, huge outlays for highways, teachers' salaries and social services, and no increases in taxes.

Talmadge won. The popular vote was about 348,000 to 304,000.

Political observers believed the Talmadge victory might prove significant nationally. They pointed out that "Humman" swept not only the rural areas where the Talmadge name is a by-word but also the cities. This was taken as a good augury for the States' Rights Presidential ticket headed by Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina.

Talmadgeites Throng Meet At Baxley

By M. L. ST. JOHN
Constitution Staff Writer

BAXLEY, Aug. 24—A gigantic political rally here this afternoon heard Gubernatorial Candidate Herman Talmadge and a corps of Georgia political figures lambast Acting Gov. Thompson, former Governors Rivers and Arnall, Henry Wallace, Communism, and President Truman's civil-rights program.

Talmadge partisans claimed a much larger crowd was here today than the big throng which heard Thompson speak here a few weeks ago. Swelling the Talmadge crowd were motorcades of 283 cars coming northward from Waycross, Douglas, Alma and Patterson, and a motorcade of 200 cars led by a band from Telfair County.

Judge Grice, of Tattnall County; Andrew Tuten, of Alma; Charles Block, of Macon, and J. J. Brown, of McDuffie County, former Commissioner of Agriculture, preceded Talmadge on the program.

Grice viciously attacked Thompson and Arnall as "living on taxpayers money while Herman Talmadge was on the battle front," and he called upon Talmadge's buddies to resent the Arnall and Thompson slurs on Ealmadge.

Tuten, a candidate for the Legislature, said the white primary would be restored when Talmadge was elected.

Block said the civil-rights program was born of a coalition of Democrats and Communists, instead of Republicans, and nurtured by Wallace, Truman, Rivers, Arnall, and Thompson.

J. P. Morris, farmer, introduced Talmadge.

Talmadge conducted several polls of his crowd. He found that few school-bus drivers had received promised salary raises, and he pledged they would get their pay hikes when he was elected. He found that only "15 persons out of 15,000 or 20,000 here today" had visited Jekyll Island, and he called that island a waste of taxpayers' money. He found that virtually all the crowd planned to vote for him.

Speaking earlier today at Tifton, Talmadge threatened to prosecute officials of the State Revenue Department as he had threatened to prosecute State Highway Department officials a day ago.

"They replaced Glenn Phillips with Downing Musgrove as Revenue Commissioner because they said Musgrove could raise more campaign funds," Talmadge reported. "The only way I know for a revenue commissioner to raise money for political purposes is through a shakedown of liquor dealers and by granting concessions to big business firms. When I am Governor, I am going to look into this, and somebody may face a penitentiary term."

Monroe Phillips, World War II veteran who introduced Talmadge at Tifton, praised him for fighting three dictators (Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo) during the war, and "three dictators" in the present "Battle for Individual Liberties for Georgians."

Talmadge Says Georgians Won't Tolerate Hate Units

According to Herman Talmadge, candidate for Governor, the people of Georgia won't tolerate hate groups.

The son of the late Eugene Talmadge, who espoused the racial hate issue from the mountains to the coast of Georgia in numerous political campaigns and who gave his political mantle to his son, told the National Conference of Christians and Jews this week:

"During the short reign of the Columbians, I doubt very seriously whether they had more than 25 members at any time. Georgia is free from anti-semitic groups."

Observers noted that Talmadge, launching his campaign, already had attempted to inject the idea that qualification tests be set up for prospective Georgia voters with illiterate white persons being allowed to vote while illiterate Negroes would be barred.

Negro Vote Thompson Aim --Talmadge

By M. L. ST. JOHN
Constitution Staff Writer

MARIETTA, Aug. 19—Gubernatorial Candidate Herman Talmadge declared here today that an Atlanta Negro newspaper was the first paper to indorse Acting Gov. Thompson for election because he voted the white primary bill.

"In its next paragraph, the Atlanta Daily World said that if it could keep the bloc vote it could remove all racial barriers," Talmadge told his audience. "What did M. E. promise A. T. Walden and C. A. Scott for this indorsement? He cannot court that crowd and be against the so-called civil rights program. He cannot be on both sides of the so-called civil rights program."

A crowd that was much larger than the one which recently attended a Thompson meeting met in the City square to hear Talmadge. Talmadge told the crowd his father, the late Gov. Eugene Talmadge, did not make a fight to carry Cobb County in 1946 because it was the home county of Gubernatorial Candidate Jimmie Carmichael. However, Herman Talmadge said he would carry Cobb County. Carmichael has issued no statement in the present campaign between Talmadge and Thompson

W. O. Smith, Principal of the Austell School, was master of ceremonies. Faine Chambers, University of Georgia student from Fair Oaks, introduced Talmadge.

Talmadge denounced Thompson for failing to build more than 115 miles of rural roads during the present year, and for building no rural roads in 1947. He said he would give high priority to rural road building when he becomes Governor.

Talmadge displayed a copy of Thompson's advertisement in the Atlanta World, and criticized a white candidate for seeking Negro votes and begging Negro subscribers to listen to his radio program.

Marvin Griffin, candidate for Lieutenant - Governor, preceded Talmadge as a speaker. He bitterly attacked Former Governors Arnall and Rivers.

Jim Crow Enforcement Is Pledged by Talmadge

By ALBERT RILEY
Constitution Staff Writer

CARROLLTON, Aug. 14—Herman Talmadge told a crowd of West Georgians here today that "if I am elected your Governor, the Jim Crow laws of Georgia will be enforced."

Speaking in the cool shade of the city park where a crowd he estimated at "between 7,000 and 10,000" had gathered in a natural amphitheater, the young gubernatorial candidate declared that "Georgia is going to show the nation that segregation is best for the white man and best for the Negro."

"All over Georgia," he said, "a great tidal wave of resentment is rising against the effort to choke the Civil Rights program down the throats of Southern white people, and this State's answer will ring out to the whole nation on Sept. 8.

"Our people are aroused," he added, "and they are rallying by the tens of thousands to our cause."

"When I am Governor," he said, "we are going to put the full force of all the resources of our State Government behind our Senators and Congressmen to defeat these Civil Rights proposals. We are going to wage a nation-wide campaign to prove to the white people of the whole country that the FEPC Bill is wrong and segregation of the races is right."

He told the crowd that the Atlanta Daily World is supporting his chief rival, Acting Gov. Thompson, and said that this support is "significant" because the paper reflects the aims and purposes of Negro political leaders. He further charged that Thompson was the first white candidate in Georgia political history to carry an advertisement in the Daily World and waved a copy of the paper containing the ad.

Still on crutches, the young son of "Old Gene" said his late father was accused of demagoguery when the elder Talmadge ran for Governor in 1946 on the white primary issue, but that the present Civil Rights agitation has proven that his father was right.

While his mother, "Miss Mitt;" his wife, Betty, and Democratic Committeeman Jim Peters, of Manchester, listened from the platform, Talmadge made a bid for the financial as well as vote support in his campaign, telling the crowd that "I want you to send me all the money you can spare."

On other platform planks he advoted more pay for teachers and school bus drivers and criticized the Thompson administration for buying Jekyll Island while rural hospitals had not been set up and tubercular patients "are dying for lack of medical care."

He flayed former Govs. E. D. Rivers and Ellis Arnall and accused them and Thompson of trading roads for votes, adding that "on Sept. 8 I am going to run them out of the road business."

Talmadge, who spoke at Cartersville earlier in the day, was introduced here by J. M. (Jimmy) Holmes. J. R. (Junior) Wynn was master of ceremonies. A motorcade nearly a mile long came here from Atlanta for the rally.

The Talmadge Threat Faces Georgia Again

By C. E. GREGORY

ATLANTA, Sept. 4.—Red suspenders—junior grade—are menacing the State of Georgia again.

For the last nine months the self-styled Empire State of the South has been going through a gubernatorial campaign, with considerable doubt as to what will finally come forth. The issue will be decided at the Democratic State primary this Tuesday.

There are five candidates for Governor, but only two have a chance to figure prominently in the voting. They are Acting Governor Melvin E. Thompson and Herman Eugene Talmadge.

Governor Thompson is a veteran of long public service, although only 45 years old. He was a school teacher, city school principal, state school supervisor and assistant state school superintendent under the administration of former Governor E. D. Rivers. He came back into public life as executive secretary to former Governor Ellis Arnall, who later appointed him State Commissioner of Revenue. He was serving as revenue commissioner in 1946 when elected Lieutenant Governor.

Assembly to Choose

Eugene Talmadge was elected Governor of Georgia for the fourth time in the election in which Thompson was elected Lieutenant Governor. But Talmadge died three weeks before taking the oath of office. His only son, Herman Talmadge, had anticipated his death. With the aid of Roy V. Harris, of Augusta, former speaker of the House of Representatives, Herman Talmadge carried on a sneak campaign for write-in votes as an independent candidate against his own father, the Democratic nominee.

Harris had dug up a constitutional provision, enacted 100 years ago. It provided that in the event no Governor was elected by the people the General Assembly must choose one from the two candidates with the most votes.

In an all-night session marked by drunken brawling, public bribery, intimidation

and blood spilling, the Georgia legislature finally elected Herman Talmadge to succeed his father. Talmadge held office for 67 days until the Georgia Supreme Court threw him out on the grounds that he was chosen illegally.

As he stalked out of the Governor's office and vacated the Executive Mansion, both of which had been taken by force and violence from former Governor Ellis Arnall, Talmadge said he would be back. He started campaigning almost immediately for the last two years of the unexpired term to which his father had been elected in 1946.

Talmadge is 34 years old and a lawyer by profession. He served in the Navy during the last war. He was regarded as more able and conservative than his father in his early campaigning. Then he reverted to type.

Donning the red suspenders that marked all the campaigns of his father, shaking his hair down over his eyes, sticking out his chin and yelling "nigger, nigger" all over Georgia, the younger Talmadge has taken up where his father left off in a race-baiting demagoguery.

Has Two Answers

Talmadge says that the Truman civil-rights program is the chief issue in the Georgia campaign. He charges that Governor Thompson has straddled it. He assails the Governor because he recognizes the right of Negroes to vote in the Democratic primary and has advertised in a Negro newspaper. He promises the voters a return to the white primary in Georgia, despite the ruling of the United States Supreme Court that Negroes cannot be barred from voting. He advocates the purging of Negroes from the registration lists, although only a tenth of the Georgia Negroes have dared try to register. Sun 9-5-48

Former Governors Arnall and E. D. Rivers are supporting Governor Thompson. This has caused Talmadge to froth at the mouth. He links them with Henry Wallace and the communists because Arnall and Thompson supported Wallace for Vice-President in 1944. Talmadge also charges that Arnall, in a national lecture tour, belittled the South and referred to it as illiterate and poverty stricken.

Talmadge is shouting all over Georgia that in the event Thompson is elected, there will be an end to segregation of the races and "Negroes will go to school with white children.

Campaigns On His Record

Governor Thompson has two effective answers to that charge. The first is that he is Governor now and segregation still prevails. The second is that the Georgia constitution provides for education of the races in separate school buildings.

Governor Thompson is trying to make his year and a half in office the campaign issue. He points out that he has paid more money to the common schools, the colleges, the old-age pensioners, the state health department, and all other state departments, and has carried on the greatest road building program in the history of the state, despite the fact that the Talmadge controlled legislature defeated all new revenue measures after it became known that Thompson would spend the money.

Governor M. E. Thompson

He seeks re-election

Louisville Ky

Because of the failure of the legislature to pass an appropriation bill, Thompson was left to operate on a 1943 measure that appropriated only $67,000,000 for all state purposes. Yet the total revenues reached a new high of $108,000,000 last year. Therefore the Governor, as director of the budget, had the personal spending of $41,000,000 in state funds. He details the manner in which this excess revenue was spent and then wonders what would have happened if it had fallen into the hands of Herman Talmadge, Roy Harris, "and the rest of the Talmadge goons, thugs and drunks."

Sun 9-5-48

Pastor In Rage

Most of the Georgia newspapers are supporting Governor Thompson.

The Rev. Joe Rabun, a Baptist preacher and navy chaplain in the recent war, probably will come out third in the voting. He is a direct descendant of a pioneer Governor of Georgia.

Rabun was pastor of the Baptist church at McRae, to which the Talmadge family belonged. He assisted in the funeral services for Eugene Talmadge. But a few weeks later he appeared before a legislative committee in opposition to the white primary bill which Gene Talmadge had drawn and Herman Talmadge was pushing through the legislature.

The friends and neighbors of Eugene Talmadge got even with Rabun by having him fired by the McRae church. He moved to Valdosta, the home of Governor Thompson. He announced that he would be a candidate for Governor, then that he would not run. His name was finally entered in the contest by a faction of the C.I.O., which opposed both Thompson and Talmadge for signing a Georgia anti-strike bill.

The candidacy of Rabun is definitely hurting Governor Thompson, because the preacher will draw all his votes from the anti-Talmadge majority in Georgia. The charge has been made that the Talmadge campaign committee is financing the Rabun campaign through the C.I.O., but without the knowledge of the candidate.

The fourth candidate for Governor is Hoke O'Kelley, Walton County farmer who participated in both World Wars and was severely wounded in the last one. He ran for Governor two years ago while confined to a government hospital in Augusta, and polled about 12,000 votes. That was his second race. He is honest and sincere, and will not accept a campaign contribution, spending $3,000 of his own money to make the race. He thinks he is going to be elected this time, but is alone in that belief.

The fifth candidate, who may rank higher than that in the voting, is Hoke Willis. He is a railroad clerk at Copperhill, Tenn., but lives at Blue Ridge in the Georgia mountains. This is his second or third campaign. He is advocating prohibition because, he says, Georgia moonshiners cannot sell their products in competition with standard brands of liquor. He threatens if elected to lock up all state departments until the State liquor law is repealed.

Passes Out Honey Sun 9-5-48

He approves the purchase of Jekyll Island by Thompson for a State park, to which Talmadge bitterly objects. Willis says he is going to move the Georgia Supreme Court and Georgia Court of Appeals to Jekyll Island, where the jurists can meditate in peace and quiet. This will provide room for housing all state departments in the Capitol. Then he will convert the highway building into apartments for homeless veterans, and change the State Office Building into a moderately priced hotel, with free campaign headquarters on the mezzanine floor for poor candidates, like himself. He depends on sour wood honey, which he gathers himself, to subsidize the press. It's wonderful honey, too.

Talmadge Platform To Embrace Anti-Rights, Education Planks

Herman Talmadge will qualify and announce for Governor Saturday, according to present plans.

A secret "board of strategy" meeting was held in a downtown hotel room yesterday with many of the Talmadge stalwarts attending.

A reliable source said the leaders were concerned principally with working out details of Talmadge's platform.

He is slated to address the State Democratic Convention in Macon Friday but is not scheduled to make his official announcement at that time. The convention address will be largely a homey, "good-for-the-people" speech that will constitute the build-up for his qualifying the following day.

The Talmadge platform will contain a strong anti-civil rights plank. The platform will also indorse the Minimum Educational Foundation program of the Georgia Education Association, calling for additional millions for education. There will also be a plank covering veterans.

Talmadge himself was non-committal. He said he would have "something for the papers" Friday, which he later explained was his convention speech. He would not comment on possible developments Saturday.

Asked if planning campaign strategy was responsible for the large assembly of Talmadge leaders, several of whom wore the familiar red galluses, Talmadge said: "People have been coming and going all day."

Among those who "came and went" were Jim Gillis, of Soperton, a strategist in former Talmadge campaigns; James S. Peters, of Manchester, Chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee; Sims Garrett, former Chairman of the Highway Board; A. L. Henson, long a Talmadge follower, and George Stewart, who has weathered many Talmadge campaigns. Roy Harris, of Augusta, was also reported in the city.

One observer watching these developments commented: "We're getting ready for a real corn-shucking this Summer."

Georgia Must Control Bloc Voting--Talmadge

By M. L. ST. JOHN
Constitution Staff Writer

AMERICUS, Aug. 7—The defeat of United States Senators Russell and George and Rep. Stephen Pace was predicted here today by Gubernatorial Candidate Herman Talmadge if Georgia doesn't control bloc voting.

If we do not return the election back into the hands of persons intelligent enough to do their own thinking the results will be that those who have fought for the South will be defeated and those like Ellis Arnall, Ed Rivers and M. E. Thompson, who are against Southern traditions, will be in control, Talmadge told a crowd of between 2,000 and 2,500 persons.

Swelled by four motorcades from Stewart, Webster, Dougherty, and Sumter Counties, the Talmadge crowd here on Saturday afternoon was vastly larger than the crowd which recently heard Acting Gov. Thompson give a mid-week speech in the courthouse.

In a blistering attack on bloc voting by Negroes, whom he said were under the influence and instructions of Communist-front organizations, Talmadge declared M. E. Thompson can't be against bloc voting because he was elected by it and A. T. Walden, Atlanta Negro lawyer, is one of his election managers now. Talmadge said that Thompson is aiding and abetting bloc voting by meeting with Walden, who is the lawyer in the Ingram case.

The Communist Party is fighting for the release of the Ingram Negro woman and her two sons near here who were first given a death sentence and later a life term for the slaying of a white farmer. If Thompson doesn't get the bloc vote he won't carry a single county, the candidate predicted.

Talmadge promised, if elected, to pass qualification laws for voters which will return the election to people able to think for themselves. Talmadge tied Georgia bloc voting into the Federal Civil Rights Program and said if Georgia doesn't control bloc voting, bloc voting will control Georgia.

He said the so-called Civil Rights program originated in Moscow and was brought to America by Henry Wallace. He said it strikes at individual freedoms and at Christianity. Government was not created to legislate social customs, Talmadge asserted.

Turning to Thompson's record, Talmadge charged the Acting Governor helped him and the late Gov. Eugene Talmadge draft the white primary bill and then after becoming Acting Governor Thompson double-crossed the people and vetoed the bill. He declared that Thompson is conducting a campaign based on fraud, rumor and deceit and that his veto of the white primary bill proves he cannot be trusted.

Former Americus Mayor H. O. Jones presented Talmadge. Wingate Dykes presided. Sol. Gen. E. L. Forrester, of Leesburg; Rep. Garland Byrd, of Butler, and former Senate Pres. Charlie Redwine of Fayetteville, spoke. Among those on the platform were Rep. W. G. Pearlman, former Rep. Theron Jennings, Judge W. M. Harper, City Court Solicitor Hollis Fort, Jr., Mrs. Charles Crisp and Mrs. Herman Talmadge.

Talmadge Predicts Overwhelming Victory

By ALBERT RILEY
Constitution Staff Writer

COLUMBUS, Sept. 4—Herman Talmadge predicted here today that between 750,000 and 800,000 votes will be cast in next Wednesday's Georgia Primary and that he will poll 500,000 of them to be overwhelmingly nominated for the Governorship.

Winding up the last week of the campaign prior to the election, Talmadge made his 14th speech of the week, and finished hoarse, but apparently confident of victory.

After racing all the way across the State from Savannah, where he spoke Friday night, the young gubernatorial candidate addressed an outdoor crowd in the rain at LaGrange earlier this afternoon. Rain forced his rally inside the Muscogee County Courthouse.

Talmadge predicted that although his father carried only one of the big six-unit vote counties in 1946, "this year we are going to carry almost all of them."

"The rural and city counties in Georgia are going to band together next Wednesday," he said, "and we are going to win the most overwhelming victory in recent Georgia political history."

Talmadge warned his supporters, however, that in the closing days of the campaign his opposition will resort to "new and clever devices" to win the election.

"You will see more money spent between now and next Wednesday," he said, "than at any time in any political campaign in the history of this State.

"Why, I've found them offering $100 per car to haul Thompson supporters to the polls on election day," he said. "You be on the lookout for that money because it's tainted. But I want you to take it, and wash it and perfume it, and then use your cars to haul Talmadge voters to the polls."

Talmadge charged Acting Gov. Thompson and former Govs. Rivers and Arnall with "negotiating road contracts of $3,000,000 in order to raise a huge political campaign slush fund."

He repeated his attacks on Thompson for "straddling and pussyfooting on the civil rights issue."

Making a bid for labor support in this industrial center, Talmadge promised to "give equal protection of the law to both capital and labor, and administer workmen's and unemployment compensation laws for the benefit of the laboring masses."

Still wearing the battered Panama hat he has worn since the beginning of the campaign, he left the courthouse after his speech to stop at the mill center of Bibb City, en route home for a week-end rest at Lovejoy. At Bibb City he greeted textile workers, carpenters and railroad men and thanked them for their support.

Talmadge was introduced here by his friend, Democratic National Committeeman Bob Elliott, of Columbus, who accompanied him on his tour of Georgia this week.

Judge T. Hicks Fort warmed the audience with a fiery speech in behalf of Talmadge's candidacy. William E. Hiers, Columbus businessman, was master of ceremonies, and introduced Talmadge's wife and mother and Columbus Roberts, onetime foe of the late Eugene Talmadge in a gubernatorial race.

At LaGrange, Talmadge was introduced by Paul Vollenweider, an employee of the Hillside Plant of the Callaway Mills. T. R. Morgan, a college classmate of Talmadge, presided.

A Talmadge Man

Editor Constitution: I am a white Georgian and intend to stay white. I am definitely against Negroes mingling with whites in churches, schools, movies, restaurants, etc. I am a firm States' rights believer and will do all in my power to preserve that right for the people of these United States. You can bet when Sept. 8 rolls around I intend to cast my vote to a man who puts paid political ads in a large Negro newspaper and takes advice from any ex-Governors who go all over the nation slinging mud at the State that fed them for four years.

But Sir, We Are Still Afraid

Atlanta Daily World

Herman Talmadge, at a political rally Friday at Fort Valley, is reported to have taken time away from his speech to turn to the few Negroes sprinkled in the audience to say that "if I am elected Governor, Negroes of Georgia will have nothing to fear." But that assurance, whether he is sincere or not, cannot be relied upon by Negroes so long as Talmadge supporters have their way. It is inconceivable, for example, for Negroes to believe that Mr. Talmadge could control the action of a man like Roy Harris, who is playing hate and passion up to the highest point in his personal organ, The Augusta Courier. What too, could Mr. Talmadge do to restrain a man like Marvin Griffin, who wants to be his lieutenant Governor and who has a professed belief that Negroes have no place in the scheme of Government?

It may be that Mr. Talmadge can elaborate on what he can do and will do to remove fears from the hearts of Negroes of the State if he and his group win control of State Government. If the first two and a half months of 1947 is to be a fair sample of what attitude he will take toward them, then we would not be intelligent to trust to such a man.

Sun 7-25-48

Indeed, speaking at the same rally, Will Wallace, a strong Talmadge supporter, said: "We hope to have white supremacy by peaceful means, but we will have it by force if necessary."

M. L. ST. JOHN

'Walkout Tactics' Aren't Doing So Well

The best show that has been staged in Georgia politics in years was put on by Ed Rivers when the State's best political orator subdued a crowd of booers in the heart of Talmadge territory. A move led by Talmadge campaign workers strategically placed to have the 5,000 persons at Vidalia walk off and leave Rivers to talk to himself failed. Rivers "told off" his booers in a daring face-down which drew applause and caused the walkers-off to pause on a street corner well within earshot of the loudspeaker and hear him out. More than when Talmadge spoke at Fort Valley. Beautiful girls, clad in colorful red shorts or blue 2,000 of the original crowd held their ground and heard this little man tell his hecklers that they didn't have the guts to listen to him, and that their heroes—Herman Talmadge and Marvin Griffin—didn't have the guts to sit through his speech as he had sat through their denunciation of him.

Dun 5-25-48

Rivers, who is denounced by persons of many factions for different things, shows up in his best colors when he is fighting alone with his back against the wall. His performance at Vidalia recalled his performance at the Jackson-Jefferson Day dinner. When all others had run out on him, the retiring National Committeeman declared he would hold a Democratic dinner if he had to eat alone—and the crowd, admiring his courage, flocked to the dinner.

The walkout tactics apparently are Herman Talmadge's version of Gene Talmadge's old plan of breaking up an opponent's speech. When the late Governor was to appear last on a program with his opponent, he would arrive in the middle of his opponent's speech—with sirens blowing and stooges cheering. The campaign workers for young Talmadge twice have tried the walkout plan without success. Herman shared the platform with Acting Gov. Thompson at the Pine Tree Festival at Swainsboro before the campaign opened. As soon as he finished speaking, Talmadge said he had to leave town. Roy Harris and others tried to get the crowd to walk off and leave Thompson without an audience, but the move failed.

5-3-48

The booers usually get the worst of it when they face a speaker with courage. In 1946 the late Eugene Talmadge turned some Tech students' heckling at the Erlanger Theater to his own advantage. His opponent, Jimmy Carmichael, denounced Talmadge's booers and appealed to the crowds to give all candidates a fair hearing. By the time this column is published, Herman Talmadge probably will have issued a statement deploring the action of the booers at Vidalia.

While Thompson was buttering up to Tom Linder at Fitzgerald, Rivers made a play for Sen. Russell's supporters who were wooed in high-power fashion by the Talmadge delegates at the Democratic National Convention when they boosted Russell for President. Speaking primarily for the benefit of his newspaper and radio audience, Rivers reminded the people of the fight Gene Talmadge made on Russell in 1936. In this confused political stage, however, when Thompson has the backing of Columbus Roberts and seeks that of Linder, Rivers didn't go into detail about the "Four R" campaign in 1946—when the battle cry was Roosevelt, Russell, Rivers and Roberts against Talmadge, Redwine and Linder.

Atlanta Ga.

THE "WOOL HAT boys" saw another "new look" adopted for Herman Talmadge's campaign by Gubernatorial Candidate Herman Talmadge and Marvin Griffin and Henry Persons, candidates for Lieutenant Governor.

Talmadge, who was cheered by the crowd, had and still has Toombs County.

Immediately after Talmadge and Griffin blistered Rivers, who was scheduled to speak for the candidacy of Acting Gov. Thompson, they left town.

Constitution

Urged on by shouts of "Let's go to the barbecue, there's nothing more to hear" from campaign workers in the crowd, more than half of the original crowd of more than 5,000 left the speaking area.

The remaining persons milled around the speakers' stand to boo and attempt to drown out Rivers as he started speaking.

Rivers, who had sat smiling on the stage while he was attacked by Talmadge and Griffin, faced down the booers with this:

Atlanta Ga.

"I sat there and took everything Talmadge and Griffin could hand out. They couldn't take it from me; so they have run off and left you here to boo. They didn't have the guts to stay here, and you don't have the guts to listen."

Rivers told his booers they were afraid to listen because they knew that Talmadge was wrong and they were afraid Rivers would convince them.

7-24

Concerning charges that Negroes would vote for Thompson and not for Talmadge, Rivers shouted "It is a sorry man that even a Negro won't vote for."

Of Roy Harris, Rivers commented, "They call hi mthe little round man, because he is not square."

Having trouble at first, Rivers asked his radio audience to witness that "This is the type of hoodlumism—you can expect from Talmadge." He said the Talmadges booed Dick Russell when he ran successfully for Governor and Senate. Hundreds of the crowd that walked out on Rivers stopped a block away when they saw the meeting had not been broken up by their leaving.

7-25-48

Rivers spoke for 45 minutes after the crowd quieted down. He received applause from many.

Talmadge, himself, got a pledge from most of the audience before he left that they would vote for him in September. As he closed his speech, he called for a show of hands, and a sea of hands went up from the crowd.

In this traditional Talmadge County, following the lead of his late father, former Gov. Eugene Talmadge, young Talmadge promised to "run a double-header train out of Atlanta carrying useless State employees home." "In many State offices today there is a crowd of men smoking big black cigars and talking politics while one little woman does the work," Talmadge declared. "When I'm Governor, I'll wean this crowd."

Charging that Thompson was the servant of Rivers and former Gov. Arnall, Talmadge remaked: "Poor little M. E. can't even hire a secretary. You've got to go up to Ed's room to see about a job." Talmadge said he would move the State Department from Thompson's campaign headquarters in the Henry Grady Hotel back to the State Capitol.

Constitution

The candidate quoted Thompson's book published in 1940 as stating Thompson was against the county-unit system. Talmadge said he favored the system because it prevented A. T. Walden, Atlanta Negro lawyer, and Arnall and Rivers from running the State.

Griffin replied to Arnall's recent charges that he betrayed Arnall when a mob broke in the doors of the Governor's office and Griffin was supposed to be Adjutant General. Griffin said he quieted the crowd that night.

7-25-48

"I left Arnall because he betrayed the people of Georgia," Griffin said. "Am I a traitor? My record is on file in Washington. Where is Ellis' record? His is one of infamy. He betrayed Georgians for Yankee gold."

Atlanta, Ga.

Making his debut in State politics this year on the same platform with three fiery speakers, Persons, in contrast to the bombardment, delivered a quiet talk. He said he would not sponsor nor oppose legislation, but would be a fair and impartial presiding officer of the Senate. Ben P. Jackson, Vidalia lawyer, presided over the political rally which featured the opening of the tobacco auction here.

Sound Government

Constitution

Editor Constitution: What constitutes a sound State Government? I address this question particularly to Mr. W. C. Plott, of College Park, who suggested in his letter—featured on your Editorial Page, Friday, July 16—that Herman Talmadge is the man who can give the people of Georgia a "sound State Government."

My dictionary gives this definition, in part, of the word SOUND: "Founded on truth or right."

Tell me, Mr. Plott, do you infer that Mr. Talmadge has a platform founded on truth or right?

Atlanta, 5-25-48

Atlanta, Ga.

BETTYE TRIBBLE.

by the high court, taking all forms of religion out of school, is going to be ignored by the South, and the teachers of America will still recite the Lord's Prayer to my child and yours.

You say to me, in effect, that we have to give in to most of their principles in order to give our Senators and Congressmen more prestige in Congress. I say no! Let the politicians join the people. The civil rights program is so interwoven with roots of foreign ideologies that it ceases to be a mere political issue.

East Point

Constitution

HIRAM DUNN.

Talmadge Confined To Hospital Bed

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

DUBLIN, Ga. (SNS)—Gubernatorial aspirant Herman Talmadge is confined in Claxton Hospital here following an accident while returning from Statesboro, Ga., he had delivered a fiery speech attacking civil rights, Negroes and his opposition political foes.

7-22-48

The accident is reported to have occured while he was returning to Atlanta from the political demonstration in company with a number of friends.

7-22-48

A physician at the Claxton hospital said Talmadge's injuries and a bad cold would keep him there several days.

Talmadge according to Dr. E. B. Claxton, suffered pains in his right leg, above knee joints, and a slight fracture. The injury was not serious enough to necessitate a cast.

Talmadge's left eye, blackened in the crash, has been taped up. He also received a cut to his right eye, a facial cut and bruises.

The driver of the car was Sims Garrett, Jr., who explained he met a car outside of Dublin. It swerved into our side of the highway in an attempt to pull up at Lee's Cafe. I cut to my right. We collided at an angle as the other car pulled away. My left fender and the car struck causing my car to turn over at least once.

7-22-48

State troopers at Dublin said they are investigating the collision and expect to prefer charges.

By M. L. ST. JOHN
Constitution Staff Writer

VIDALIA, July 22—Former Gov. Ed Rivers outspoke a band and booers here today at a political rally which featured speeches

'Loyal Sons of South' Win Praise Of Talmadge in Pelham Address

Atlanta Constitution

PELHAM, July 15—It is time to stand up and be counted on the questions of State's rights and so-called civil rights legislation, Herman Talmadge told a crowd of Southwest Georgians here today as he helped dedicate a new American Legion clubhouse.

Departing from his planned speech, the youthful gubernatorial aspirant praised "the loyal sons of the South for their fight last night in Philadelphia" at the Democratic National Convention.

It was apparent at the convention, Talmadge said, that the Southerners, in opposing President Truman, were "fighting for a cause that was as lost as the cause of Lee and Jackson and Gordon, but they went down fighting."

He did not mention the President by name.

"We fought for the American way of life, as soldiers and sailors," Talmadge told his fellow American Legionnaires, "and now as civilians, we must fight just as hard for that way of life and our traditions."

In an obvious reference to FEPC legislation, Talmadge declared that "we are facing the most perilous times since 1860," explaining that "if swarms of secret police and gestapo are sent into Georgia and Mitchell County to tell every employer whom he can and cannot hire and fire, it will destroy business and every vestige of our liberties.

"If you want to go to theaters with people of your own color, that's your business," he said, "and not the business of the Federal Government."

In adopting the principles of States' rights embodied in the Tenth Amendment, Talmadge said, the framers of the Constitution knew that "what might be beneficial for New Hampshire might be chaos for Georgia."

Aside from his reference to National affairs, Talmadge's speech was largely non-political. He did make one remark that "veterans are not now getting full benefits of the GI Bill of Rights in Georgia."

Fri. 7-16-48

Early in his speech someone asked him to remove his coat, a favorite stunt of his late father. But Talmadge replied: "I'll do that this afternoon at Cordray's Mill; this is not a political gathering."

At Cordray's Mill in Calhoun County later in the day, he did swing into politics, declaring rural roads in Georgia are in a shameful condition, and they "are as necessary as trunk highways and more vital than access roads to such spots as Jekyll Island."

Talmadge was introduced at Pelham by his friend, Marvin Griffin, of Bainbridge, combat veteran and candidate for Lieutenant Governor, who spoke of Talmadge's 52 months of Naval service, many of them in the South Pacific.

As the new $40,000 home and swimming pool of the Smith-Spence Post No. 144 was dedicated, many Southwest Georgia Legionnaires were present.

Speakers included Post Commander C. W. Strickland, Mayor Wheatey Powell, of Pelham, Mayor "Taxi" Smith, of Albany; Second District Legion Commander Willis Conger, of Bainbridge; State Vice Commander Ed Hughes, of Camilla; Past State Commanders John Wiliams, of Valdosta, and Hoyt Wimpy, of Thomasville; District Legion Auxiliary President Mrs. Mildred Logan, of Albany, and Neeley Peacock, of Albany. Others present included Carl Jones, of Valdosta, and Glen Cowden and Cliff White, of Thomasville.

A big barbecue, beauty contest, baseball game and dance were included in the celebration.

Talmadge Courts Vote Of Negroes in Screven

The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

By NORMAN CHALKER

SYLVANIA, Aug. 5—Herman Talmadge made a mild bid for the support of Negro voters in one breath here today and in another declared that he would, "when elected Governor, make it impossible for a large group of voters who can be easily bought to vote in a bloc."

Fri. 8-6-48

Addressing the Negroes who were a part of the crowd which heard him speak, he said, "The white people in Screven County are the best friends you ever had. Henry Wallace and the group which tries to lead you off and tell you that segregation should be broken down are trying to do you a mis-service. Segregation laws have been best for white and best for colored. You have nothing to fear from me."

Later in his speech, without actually using the term Negro voter, he declared, "There is a large group of voters in this State who can be bought and who will go to the polls and vote on orders of the Society for Human Welfare. Bloc voting destroys representative democracy and when I'm Governor I'm going to insist on some qualifications so people who vote will do their own thinking."

Talmadge also attacked his opponent's stand on the civil rights issue, declaring, "After the pressure got hot, Melvin got A. T. Walden, Ed Rivers and Henry Wallace to let him faintly oppose civil rights."

Talmadge also promised that "When I'm elected Governor, I'm going to replace a lot of fat cigar-smoking men in the capitol with veterans."

8-2-48

Criticize Pres. Truman, Thompson Arnall, Rivers

MACON, Ga.—(SNS)—New devices and subterfuges were proposed by the Talmadge-controlled State Democratic Convention as a means of minimizing Negro voting in Georgia.

Atlanta Daily World

At the same time speakers let loose a blistering attack upon Pres. Harry S. Truman, Gov. Melvin E. Thompson, Ellis Arnall, E. D. Rivers and Third Party Candidate Henry A. Wallace.

Atlanta

All phases of the controversial civil rights legislation was bitterly opposed by convention speakers who insisted upon the "States Rights" pattern of intolerance in the South.

The convention sidetracked the white primary issue at the one-day meeting, but speeches and proposed courses of action forecast an attempt to revive the issue so that it would be within the scope of the United States Supreme Court ruling on the primary issue.

PROPOSALS

Sat. 7-3-48

One of the laws proposed by Talmadge—advocates would require registrants to designate the party which they expect to affiliate at the time of registration; (2) that voters subscribe to the tenents of their party before being allowed to vote; (3) that registrants be subjected to an educational qualification test before being placed on the registration lists. Few Negroes, of course, would be able to gt by.

On the issue of rules a governing state primaries was the the elimination of any state convention after the primary this year. The new rules provide the election returns be certified to the Democratic State Executive committee in state races and to the congressional district committee in congressional races and that these committees declare the nominees.

7-3-48

In a speech on the legislative program, Charles J. Block, Macon attorney who proposed the new primary laws, assailed the civil rights program with "Democrats of the East and North and even the West may believe in the doctrines of the FEPC, nonsegregation and the repeal of the Jim Crow laws. But Geirgia Democrats do not.

"Democrats have the right to describe the tenets of the Democratic party and to provide that only these tenets may participate in Democratic primaries."

"LEAVE US ALONE"

He declared "Let the Republicans have their own primary. Let those who believe in th policies of Henry Wallace have their primary. But let them leave us alone and keep away from our primary in Georgia.

"We should have educational tests for registration and they should be enforced regardless of servitude. Thy should be fair and honest tests honestly administered."

Herman Talmadge who is being pushed in the gubernatorial race by the Peters-Harris political machine accused the Thompson Administration of having a "controlled bloc vote (Negroes), road trades and patronage to salvage this election."

In a statewide broadcast Talmadge argued "Georgians, thank God, cannot be bluffed or intimidate. It is utterly folly for them to attempt to buy the people with their own tax money."

Daily World

ACCUSES OPPOSITION

Talmadge berated Arnall and Rivers stating: "Two of Georgia's former governors, one of whom has ridiculed his state as being ignorant and backward all over the United States, sacrificing his honor upon the altar of personal ambition, have entered into an unholy alliance for the purpose of dictating to the people . . . who their next governor will be."

Atlanta, Ga.

Former Senate President Frank Gross attacked Henry A. Wallace, saying "only a merciful providence and the opposition of all Southern states except Georgia and Florida prevented from being president."

House Speaker Roy V. Harris, of Augusta made the report of the committee on rules.

7-3-48

Talmadge in closing his talk to the convention in the Macon City Auditorium insisted that "We can preserve the white control in Georgia through the enactment of voter qualification laws which will stand the test of any court."

Judge T. Hicks Fort of Columbus, Ga., who was in the news last week when he issued a charter for "Original Klans, Inc." denounced Arnall and Rivers with: "One of this trio wrote books and took to the lecture platform to glorify himself, villify a great former governor and tell worse and best about his state and the South. He is not as big as a nit on the knot of a gnat."

Jack on the Payroll?

Editor Constitution: In answer to Mr. J. F. Hester, I think Jack Tarver cares, but maybe he is a Rivers and a Thompson Ghost Writer. Maybe he was told to write Herman an open letter. You know people will do funny things to get a State check. Remember those canceled checks Gene had in '41 showing the public
FRANK HEMBREE
Canon, Ga.

Thanks for Jack

Editor Constitution: Congratulations to Jack Tarver on his timely letter to Herman Talmadge. It is time that Mr. Talmadge went into the Navy. But did he come back and promote the democratic ideals that the others fought and died for? No true democrat would come back and try to dig up some scheme to disfranchise some true-born Americans by trying to prevent them from exercising the right that the Constitution of the United States granted, regardless of race, creed or color.

Thanks a million, Jack Tarver. The Atlanta Constitution is to be congratulated for having such militant leaders as he and Ralph McGill.
ALFRED L. MORON.
Atlanta.

A Little Pepper

Editor Constitution: I missed Mr. Tarver's column that is seemingly smarting some, but since I am sure he wants all of us to understand his good sense of humor and accept his spicy column as he means it, spicy colorful journalism which belongs in good newspapers.

What if he does sprinkle a little pepper among the spice? Many of us mortals fail to recognize our sore spots until someone peppers them.

Mr. Tarver aroused some closed brain cells, evidently, and for this I am grateful.
A GRANDMOTHER
Athens.

Open Letter, Etc.

Editor Constitution: Jack Tarver's recent column "An Open Letter To A Closed Mind" was most interesting. However, Jas. P. Barbee's "Open Letter" which was a direct answer to Jack, failed to make sense to me.

Mr. Barbee said he didn't see many Negroes while visiting the Freedom Train, and that he breathed a prayer for them down there. On the contrary, I saw quite a few Negroes at the Freedom Train, and judging from the contents of Barbee's answer to Jack Tarver, I have every reason to believe that the majority of those Negroes were mentally capable of interpreting the true meaning of such treasured American documents as the Constitution and Lincoln's Gettysburg address with more accuracy than Herman's friend, Barbee.
PIERCE HUMPHRIES.
Atlanta.

Defense of Tarver

Editor Constitution: I failed to read Tarver's piece but I am sure he said about the right thing as usual.

A Mr. Hester of another state calls him a Negro lover and asks questions about how would he like for his little girl to sit with a Negro boy, or how would he like for his grown girl to sit beside a grown Negro boy, or live in the same house with his family. How silly. Does he think if they were allowed to vote in a white primary it would bring that about?

Such arguments as he and some others of his type either expose their own ignorance, or they take everybody else to be mighty big fools, and want to just play on their ignorance. Let Alabama fight its own battles.
W. M. COX
Lebanon, Ga.

Equal Rights

Editor Constitution: Negroes, if given the decent education they have the right to in this country, will prove that they are entirely capable of voting and carrying on the affairs of state of our land equally as well as any white citizen of today.

I think Negroes are interested in gaining only the things that are due them under our laws. I don't think that they want to mingle with white people, like Gene said in one of his ridiculous campaign speeches.

Negroes, too, fought for the democratic ideals we stand for, though they won't get any part of them if Herman gets into the Governor's mansion.

Tarver's jokes are good, but those of these aforementioned characters are even better.
MICHEAL WILLIAMS.
Marietta.

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

'An Open Letter' . . .

Editor Constitution: In answer to column by Jack Tarver, "An Open Letter to a Closed Mind:"

I dislike addressing a letter to a closed mind inasmuch as I am reluctant to assume that those who do not share my opinions are in error. However, from your previous letter to Herman Talmadge, it is obvious that you do not believe that the right to a personal opinion is one of our inalienable rights.

I've known Herman for quite some time and have followed his career with interest. He has never peddled hate or intolerance. He believes that the balance of voting power should be retained in the hands of the white people until the Negro is mentally capable to assume this sacred responsibility. He has fought the efforts of so-called "crusaders" to use the Negro bloc vote for their selfish political advancement. Is this hate peddling? Don't you think that newspapermen, who have twisted statements around to their own satisfaction and who have interpreted the action of those in public light in their own language are the source of guilt?

I don't know whether Herman has visited the Freedom Train, but I have.

I didn't see many Negroes on the Freedom Train, did you? I breathed a prayer for them as I stood there. I wanted to see them, too, stand in awe at the solemnity of such a memorable occasion. But they aren't ready for such mingled emotions, yet.

I was deeply impressed by the "Freedom Pledge." Did you read it, Jack?

I know Herman understands what the "Freedom Pledge" means. he and Former Governors Arnall and Rivers made for our good people of Georgia. I used to like Jack Tarver for his wit and funny stories, seems to me he is a little out of line in writing his Jan. 3 article on my friend Herman Talmadge.
RICHARD LEWIS.
Decatur.

Tarver's Timely Hint

Editor Constitution: Congratulations to Jack Tarver for his keen analytical eye and a sense of the ridiculous. He always provokes a thoughtful and meaningful laugh.

But especially does he deserve a vote of approval for his discerning article "An Open Letter to a Closed Mind." It makes me feel a bit ashamed inside when I think about things like the Freedom Train all in the same moment with hate peddlers like Herman Talmadge. It is to be hoped that Herman is susceptible enough to the plea for humanity that he will heed such a timely message.
MARGARET LILLY
Emory University.

Negro-Lover

Editor Constitution: I have just read Jack Tarver's letter in today's Constitution in regard to Herman Talmadge and the Negro. Suppose Tarver had a little girl starting to school at the age of six. Would he want her to have to sit with a Negro boy on the same seat in school until she finished high school? Would he want his 16-year-old daughter to have to sit by a grown Negro boy in church every Sunday?

Would he want a Negro family to live in the same house with his family?
J. F. HESTER.
Roanoke, Ala.

Ku Kluxers Reported Disgruntled With Talmadge

By Stetson Kennedy
By Federated Press

The Jan. 19 meeting of Atlanta Klavern No. 1 saw the rank-and-file revolt against the candidacy of Herman Talmadge for governor of Georgia pick up more steam.

It all began at the previous meeting when a Klansman named Wingate dared to speak up in the Klavern, attacking the Talmadge anti-labor record.

At the latest meeting Grand Titan Ransom did his best to smooth the troubled waters. All red-blooded Americans who believe in white supremacy should support Talmadge to protect their wives and children, the Titan argued. But rank-and-filers again rose in defiance of the Klan hierarchy.

"Don't you think Brother Wingate was thinking of his wife and children when he reminded us last week that Talmadge stands for a dollar a day for working men?" one burly Klansman demanded.

"Ole Gene used to say that no man in overalls was worth more than that, and you yourself told us that Herman stands for anything his old man did," he went on. "With times like they are, nobody could support a wife and kids on that kind of money. We wouldn't even be able to pay our Klan dues and assessments."

(The Klan's klectocken initiation is $10, robes cost $15 and dues are $1 a month, besides which there are special assessments.)

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WHEN THE KLANSMAN finished speaking there was a buzz of approval and many shouted: "That's right!" A number of others then joined in the floor fight against the hierarchy's efforts to deliver the Klan's vote to Talmadge.

Imperial Wizard Sam Green was again absent, this time to conduct installation ceremonies for the Gainesville, Ga., Klan. It remains to be seen what success he will have in squelching the growing anti-Talmadge revolt inside his Klavern.

This whole affair bears out my conviction that, while the Klan hierarchy deliberately sells itself for union-busting and race racketeering, a good many of the rank-and-filers are simply uninformed, misled and exploited. Their bold refusal to go along with Talmadge is an indication of the progress of unionism down south.

•

INCIDENTALLY, the Klan is making progress, too. The Wizard has just chartered a new Klavern in Chattanooga, Tenn., where several large units were already operating. The new KKK kroup got underway with 298 members.

The moral of this story is that a real fight is shaping up. Ku Kluxery and unionism cannot long exist side by side.

Significantly, it was recently announced inside the Klan that Paul Young, foreman of the big assembly plant of the Ford Motor Co. at Hapeville, Ga., has been made Grand Kligrapp (secretary), one of the nine Hydras who have jurisdiction over the Georgia Realm of the Invisible Empire.

Talmadge Denies Any Klan Tie-Up In Guarded Reply

In a carefully worded and closely guarded public statement Friday, Herman Talmadge, generally regarded as a candidate in the approaching gubernatorial race, denied that there is any tie-up between himself and the Ku Klux Klan in the state. Mr. Talmadge's statement was made following a number of white Georgians had expressed the belief that Mr. Talmadge, if not directly associated with the Klan, is certainly in nounce the activities of the Klan.

He says: "I have no connection whatever with the Ku Klux Klan."

In addition to Rev. Rabun's denouncement of the Klan, Governor M. E. Thompson, who also is a candidate, has gone on record as opposing the Klan, both in principle and in practice, having made taken definite steps in curbing its activities. Mr. Thompson has lauded the communities which have passed ordinances against Klan parades.

Observers among Negroes have noticed no discernable difference between the aims of the late Eugene Talmadge and those of the Klan. Both favored restriction of the ballot to white citizen. Both believed in and preached white supremacy. The late Mr. Talmadge in an interview over a national chain in August, 1946, told a reporter that he would not prosecute the Klan if the pending suit by Governor Arnall were still pending when he became governor. Since those days, the young Talmadge, who says he endorses his father's program in full, has said nothing to give anyone the feeling that he is unfriendly to the aims and purposes of the Klan.

FLOGGINGS PLANNED

Meanwhile, Governor M. E. Thompson made a charge Saturday that the Ku Klux Klan had planned a series of floggings over the state.

The Atlanta terrorist gang, known as "The Black Raiders" was being connected by Fulton authorities with two recent floggings in Troup county.

Solicitor General Paul Webb said that five white men held for an assault on a young white man have been connected with the recent flog gings of two Negroes near Lagrange.

The Sheriff at LaGrange told Solicitor Webb that a man named Limon Gates, farmer and school bus driver, was brutally flogged three weeks ago. The only reason given, according to Mr. Webb, was that Gates " Was a little too active in a Negro church. The sheriff's office also said that Gates had been "engaging in politics" and "was one of the best Negroes in the county."

DISTANT RELATIVES

The other victim was a woman listed as Mrs. Mary Gates, a distant relative of Limon Gates. She was flogged "a month or two before" Limon was flogged, it was said. Neither had been involved in any kind of family trouble or "running around," according to the sheriff's office.

In Solicitor Webb's office Saturday, Grand Dragon Dr. Samuel Green denied that the Klan had anything to do with the floggings. Green said that the three alleged Klansmen involved in the beating of the young white man Thursday would be "banished from the Klan realm." The solicitor said that the Grand Dragon gave him certain information which may be helpful.

The Talmadge Highway

The Herman Talmadge Democrats held their State Convention at Macon Friday and drew up the blueprint for the highway they intend for Negro voters to travel in the future. They have, at last, admitted that there is nothing they can do to circumvent the ruling of the U. S. Supreme Court which opens the Primary to Negroes, and so they voted to rescind their 1946 action, thus leaving the Negro free to participate in the primary until the 1949 legislature meets when stringent educational tests would be required of them. They called for the enactment of qualification tests, impartially administered for white and colored alike, but Herman Talmadge let the cat out of the bag when he said:

"We can preserve the white control in Georgia through enactment of voter qualification laws which will stand the test of any court." That is the purpose of the law, and if the Negro vote question had never come up there never would be any talk of such a law. Negroes nor white Georgians are not so gullible as to believe, even for a moment, that the educational qualification laws would be impartially enforced. Nevertheless, the law is not solely designed to limit the vote of Negroes only, it will also help to limit some whites who may not be friendly to the administration in power. The reactionary always fears a large vote, whether that be white or black, since a large vote is expressive of democracy, a thing which he fears most.

Two other devices were adopted by the Herman Talmadge group, both of which stem from the same cloth as the first. Beginning in 1949, they would make it mandatory that voters subscribe to the "tenets of their party before being allowed to vote in a primary," and that voters be required to declare their party allegiance before being permitted to vote.

No mention was made of the frequent cross-burnings in the state, which represent a part of the same strategy to limit the Negro vote. They were eloquently silent on the purge campaign which has the implicit sanction of many county registrars and other officials. And not a word was said about the refusal of some county registrars to register Negroes who apply under the laws regulating registration.

Finally, it ought to be observed that the Talmadge bigwigs among the Negroes have suffered a terrific letdown when the convention failed to include them as they assured other Negroes they were promised to be. It will be difficult for them to put up any sort of front in the future before the voters whom they are trying to win over to the Talmadge forces. For they have been in the fields for several weeks talking up Talmadge to Negroes, although the going has been mighty tough to them. But it is going to be an even harder task to sell Talmadge to Georgia Negroes.

Progress and Politics

Editor Constitution: In a letter published in this column on June 20 concerning the erection of a statue to the memory of Eugene Talmadge there is a statement reading: "If he (Talmadge) wasn't a good Governor, why did the people elect him four times?" I find that reasoning just a little bit hard to swallow, particularly the use of the phrase "the people."

Just which people elected and re-elected Talmadge? Surely it wasn't the scores of urban dwellers whose votes were canceled by one vote in a sparsely populated area of the State under the Talmadge-approved county-unit system. Surely it wasn't the vast Negro population that suffered loss of franchise because of Talmadge-sponsored intimidation and Talmadge-incited prejudice.

Let those who "elected" Gene build their statue, but let the people of Georgia read Ralph McGill's "Southern Progress" and reflect over just what Eugene Talmadge's contribution to that progress was. Let us realize that a constant battle between political backwardness and economic progress exacts a terrible toll upon the real people of Georgia.

McDonough. JAMES W. GARDNER, JR.

SOUTHEAST STATES

Leaders in Georgia Form Anti-Talmadge Front

By GEORGE HATCHER

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

ATLANTA, May 29—Georgia political circles were stirred this week by the reunion of the Ellis Arnall and E. D. Rivers factions, prompting suggestions that a battle may be in the making to seat a rival delegation in the Democratic National Convention pledged to support renomination of President Truman.

Such a delegation, it was pointed out, would seek preference over the group to be named by the State Democratic Committee, which is controlled by Herman Talmadge.

Mr. Arnall and Mr. Rivers, in announcing their new political partnership, left their aims entirely to speculation except to say they had agreed to work together "in a common cause for the general good of Georgia and Georgians." Whatever their aims, however, it was clear that a new front had been formed against Talmadgeism.

Mr. Talmadge and his associates promptly described the alliance as a scheme to "thrust the civil-rights program down the throat of the South" and also as an attempt to place Mr. Arnall's name before the national convention as a candidate for Vice President and to retain Mr. Rivers as national Democratic committeeman. The Talmadge-controlled state committee is expected to supplant Mr. Rivers before convention time.

The Arnall-Rivers announcement did not indicate who would be supported in this year's Governorship campaign against the Talmadge faction. It was believed, however, that Acting Gov. M. E. Thompson would be endorsed.

Young Mr. Talmadge, when commenting upon the Arnall-Rivers announcement this week, suggested to Georgians that he had inherited some of the political wit of his father, the late Eugene Talmadge.

Two of his observations, made on sucessive days, were: "Both are discredited politicians, and when I was taught arithmetic, I learned that nothing plus nothing equals nothing." And "They think two dead mules can carry more than one dead mule."

News Note: A proposal to consolidate the city of Miami (Fla.) and Dade County was rejected by the county's voters, 22,795 for and 27,911 against.

"DEAD END KID"

The Nashville Tennessean

Thompson vs. Talmadge

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The following articles were written by M. E. Thompson and Herman Talmadge exclusively for The Constitution and are being carried, as a public service, without charge. Similar space will be made available to them each Sunday between now and election day.)

By M. E. THOMPSON

As the campaign for the Governorship of Georgia comes into the home stretch, I find myself more than distressed to learn that my opposition is attempting to delude Georgia's 365,000 ex-service men and women into voting for him by veiled promises of a bonus which he knows, and the people of Georgia know, the State is unable to pay.

Of course, my opponent is not mentioning this bonus from the stump. But service men and women all over the State have shown me pledge cards they have been asked to sign. These cards contain a pledge to work for my opponent. The campaign workers circulating them tell the service people that if they sign the cards and work for my opponent he will see to it that they get a bonus of not less than $200 each.

If a bonus of $200 each were to be paid it would cost the State approximately $80,000,000 which the State does not have. Bonds would have to be issued and an amendment to the Constitution would be required. All of which means that in the final analysis the people—including the veterans themselves—would have to approve the bonus. The people—including the veterans themselves—would have to pay the cost of the bonus.

So for any candidate for Governor to promise a bonus is pure poppycock. A Governor couldn't pay a bonus even if he wanted to and even if the State had the money.

The veterans I have talked with tell me that agents of my opponent tell those they are soliciting that the money to pay the bonus, mentioning various sums, already is in the treasury and all the veterans have to do is to help get my opponent elected and payment is assured.

Debt Most of the veterans I have talked with realize that it is not possible for Georgia to pay a bonus. Most of them realize that they comprise a large share of Georgia's taxpayers themselves and if the State paid a bonus they would merely be paying themselves and going into debt to do it. And what is more, there hasn't been any agitation on the part of anyone—including the veterans themselves—for a bonus except by those who hope to get votes out of it.

As much as any man in Georgia I realized the debt our State owes its 365,000 men and women who went to war. But I will not be a party to any vote-getting plan which leads the veterans to believe, directly or indirectly, that they will get a reward I honestly think neither they nor their State can afford.

Plan However, the people of Georgia should take some appropriate action to show some appreciation for their sons and daughters who not only left our State to defend their country in a time of national emergency, but who have returned in great numbers and cast their destiny in the future of Georgia.

I propose the following:

1. A Contitutional Amendment to provide subsistence allowance for orphan children of veterans killed in action or who died of wounds or diseases resulting from their military service, and who attend colleges or universities in Georgia.
2. Protection, under State laws, of homes built with GI Guaranteed Loans, requiring thorough inspection of construction.
3. Passage of State laws making possible Farm and Home Loans to veterans in conjunction with the banking and lending agencies of the State.
4. Further expansion of the institutional on-the-farm training program for all veterans.
5. Exemption from taxation of all homes owned and operated by recognized veterans' organizations.

By HERMAN TALMADGE

The "record' which my opponent, Acting Gov. M. E. Thompson is always shouting about reminds me of the annual report of the treasurer of a Negro lodge. In solemn session the lodge met and called on the officers for an account of their stewardships. The treasurer arose and in stentorian tones announced:

"All paid in—all paid out."

It occurs to me that here is a fine and accurate description of my opponent's labors during his entire acting term.

Receiving revenues accumulated by the preceding administration during the war years when little construction could be done "All paid in—all paid out."

And disbursing much of this inflated money to armies of employees loaded onto the pay rolls of the Highway Department, Parks Department and other State divisions "all was paid out."

In a futile effort to call such routine services an "issue" in this campaign, this candidate now comes out with the amazing statement that the "civil rights program" staring us in the face is "not an issue" and will be "forgotten in a few months."

When a Democratic President of the United States openly sponsors such a program—that's not an "issue" to Mr. Thompson.

As both major parties vie with each other to see which can pass this program the quicker —that's not an "issue" to Mr. Thompson.

When the New York Herald-Tribune, one of the nation's biggest newspapers, is printing right now a series of 12 articles by a Pulitzer prize-winning reporter slandering the South, this is not an "issue" to Mr. Thompson.

When the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette sends its Ray Sprigle to the South, disguised as a Negro, to write 12 inflammatory articles called, "In the Land of Jim Crow," that is not an "issue" to Mr. Thompson.

When all the South-baiting newspapers and magazines of the country are beating up a deafening roar of calumny and deceit heard all over the land—that's not an "issue" to Mr. Thompson.

'Invasion' When South-hating organizations backed by millions in money are sending organizers all over the land to break down our traditional protective barriers—that's not an "issue" to Mr. Thompson.

I believe the civil rights program is the outstanding issue of this race. I believe the people of Georgia are backing me in this belief. Mr. Thompson is the only candidate for any office south of the Potomac River and north of the Rio Grande who does not accept this as a dangerous and threatening "issue." Every other Southern Governor does accept this as an issue.

The Leak The situation is like that when the little Dutch boy thrust his arm into the weakening dike and held back the mighty floods.

The next Governor of Georgia and the governors of the other Southern States can work with their Congressmen and Senators to thrust a collective arm into the dike and hold back the flood of strife and unrest that menaces us.

We are faced with a condition that will get worse unless we win our fight to make it better.

The next Governor of Georgia, if he possesses the ability, the courage and the capacity, can help weld together in the South a formidable army of protection which ultimately can win out on this issue.

Yes, ladies and gentlemen of Georgia, there is a whole lot more to this present campaign than "all paid in—all paid out."

Thompson vs. Talmadge

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I am a candidate for the office of Governor of Georgia in the primary of Sept. 4, I seek the office on the record I have made in the 15 months I have been holding it. I am indeed indebted to The Atlanta Contitution for making this space available in order that I may frankly discuss with you the record I have made and upon which I ask your vote of confidence.

Teachers The people had shown in 1946 that they unmistakably were for a 50 percent increase in the pay of our underpaid school teachers. The teachers had shown that unless they received this increase many of them were going to other States were paying higher salaries.

I felt that these departments should have more money. I knew absolutely necessary that the teachers get their raise. Georgia would be in a chaotic condition without it.

One of the first acts of my administration was to make available money to the Department of Education for the express purpose of raising the school teachers' pay 50 percent. As speedily as I could I funneled the needed money into other departments.

The report of State Auditor Thrasher, made public last week, shows that we have given the common schools, the Health Department, in fact, every vital agency of the State Government, more than ever before. We have received before. We are carrying on what we have and we are doing Georgia a good job.

Roads During my administration as Governor no department of the government has suffered at the expense of another department. We have not robbed Peter to pay Paul. While increasing the funds going to other departments we have maintained and Georgia could well carry on if it was given a sound, honest, efficient and businesslike administration. That is exactly what I set

tained the Highway Department, the richest department of the government, at a standard never before achieved in our history. We have built and maintained more roads than ever before and right now are in the midst of the greatest road-building program this State has ever seen.

Now, while my record as Governor is the issue in this campaign, I can but call attention to the fact that my chief opponent, the Pretender, too, has a record for which he must answer to the people of Georgia. I note that he very studiously avoids mentioning that record in his appearances over the State. But in my speeches I am calling the attention of the people to his record. I am calling upon him to tell the people of Georgia why he said he had to have $32,000,000 a year in new taxes when I have proven that we didn't and do not need a single dime in new taxes.

Permit me to congratulate The Atlanta Constitution on its decision to grant space from time to time to candidates for Governor who desire to express their views on the campaign.

In past political campaigns some of our newspapers have not adopted such a fair and liberal plan. I am glad that my opponents may avail themselves of this space because I want the people to hear all sides and all arguments in this fight.

At the outset I want to say that I am making the race for Governor of this State because I think we need now, as never before, an administration of vision, of constructive vigor, of honesty and efficiency, an administration which will cooperate to the limit to make Georgia what she deserves to be, the best State in the Union.

I hope to win this fight without the political mud-slinging already resorted to by some of my opponents, without the name-calling and malice vented in some preceding campaigns. I am personally going to conduct a clean and open fight and I want to win this fight with the knowledge that I have the respect of the people of this State whether they voted for me or not.

'Civil Rights' These are dangerous days for Georgia, for the South and for the people who want to preserve the Southern way of living. I would not be honest with the people of Georgia if I did not state, as the very beginning, my position on some of the things that are being forced upon us which are contrary to the traditions of the South; things that are being forced upon us by people of ulterior motive—both inside and outside the State. At long last this situation stares us in the face. It has become a serious and definite threat to us. This situation can be summed up in the phrase, "the civil rights program," which both great political parties of our country are seeking to fasten upon us.

I want to see all races in our State receive fair treatment. I want to see all races given their just and due legal rights. I want to see all races work in peace and harmony for a better Georgia for all of us. It is economically better for all of us. We can make more progress and get better results by working together than by bringing in false issues and false hopes for any group.

But we have, too, a tradition of the South, a way of living for all races, that must be preserved.

For this reason I feel that the civil rights program is not only detrimental to the interests of all races in our State, but constitutes a serious threat to our continued peace, happiness and harmony.

Stand I am unalterably and unflinchingly opposed to the so-called "civil rights" program. I am against the anti-segregation phases of this program. I am against the establishment of the FEPC policies in Georgia and the South. I am against bloc voting by any race and all the evils of such bloc voting. I am a staunch adherent of States' rights and shall continue to fight to the limit for States' rights. I am also unchangeable in my belief in the benefits of the county unit system of elections and representation.

I felt that I should take advantage of this first article in The Constitution to state my position on these most important issues openly and without reservation. It is my duty and the duty of all candidates to do so.

THE GUBERNATORIAL BATTLEGROUND

Thompson vs. Talmadge

The Constitution

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The following articles were written by M. E. Thompson and Herman Talmadge exclusively for The Constitution and are being carried, as a public service, without charge. Similar space will be made available to them each Sunday between now and election day.) Sun 8-1-48

By M. E. THOMPSON

Five weeks from next Wednesday the voters of Georgia will choose their Governor for the next two years.

I am a candidate for the office, running on the record of accomplishment I have made in the slightly more than 15 months I have held the office. The public knows that record. It was largely told in black and white this past week when there was published in every newspaper in Georgia the report of State Auditor Thrasher, giving in detail where every dollar of State revenue came from and where every dollar went.

The chief question before the people is:

Did I do right or did I do wrong with your money?

Did I do right or did I do wrong when I gave the common schools more than $37,000,000? Did I do right or did I do wrong when I expended $32,000,000 building and maintaining highways, including a program of 1,300 miles of new roads in 146 Georgia counties? Did I do right or did I do wrong when I gave the Welfare Department nearly $7,000,000 for old age pensions and other benefits? Did I do wrong in giving the Department of Public Health, the Milledgeville institutions, the Battey Tuberculosis Hospital, the Department of Agriculture and other State departments and agencies more money than they ever have had in our State's long history?

Did I do right or did I do wrong in the handling of this stupendous sum of $108,000,000, which was $41,000,000 more than the $67,000,000 covered in the old appropriations bill which I had for my yardstick?

I wonder what would have happened to that $41,000,000 had my opponent been in office?

Would it have gone to give service to the people or would it have gone to the political gang around him?

Program In fairness not only to myself but to the people of Georgia, I must call attention to the fact that in providing this money for these purposes the Thompson administration carried out a program which my principal opponent, the Pretender, said could not be done without $32,000,000 income from a new "tax" —not taxes, mind you, but a new tax.

He is now shouting loudly how much he opposes a sales tax. Yet during the 67 days he illegally occupied the Governor's office and the Governor's mansion he insisted that he had to have a new tax and all the while his henchmen on the floor of the House, led by Representative Herschel Lovett, of Laurens County, and off the floor, led by his little Cracker boss, Roy Harris, were toiling day and night for the enactment of the sales tax.

The Pretender-Lovett-Harris axis passed this tax through the House after threatening the school teachers and every other employee of the State by telling them that if it didn't pass, the teachers would not get their 50 percent pay raise and all State agencies would suffer.

If the Supreme Court of Georgia had been 48 hours later with its decision declaring M. E. Thompson the legal Governor that sales tax would have been passed and signed by the Pretender.

Sun 8-1-48

Verdict When I assumed the governorship I told the people that we did not need the sales tax to provide the teachers their pay increase and to provide the other expanded services of our State Government. The Auditor's report shows how well I carried on and it is up to the people to say on Sept. 8 whether I did right or whether I did wrong.

If the people think I did right I want them to vote for me. If they think I did wrong I want them to vote against me.

The Pretender knew at the outset of this campaign that he would have to answer for his sponsorship of that sales tax. So he thought the best defense would lie in a good offense. He shouted his opposition in his opening speech at Douglas and has never ceased to shout his opposition. But his record is there and so is the record of Sales Tax Lovett and Sales Tax Roy Harris.

The people of Georgia cannot be fooled.

They won't be fooled on Sept. 8.

By HERMAN TALMADGE

The present controversy and crisis in our Congress compels me to talk chiefly about one of my platform planks.

Political platforms offered by candidates for public office are meaningless unless they are honestly conceived; unless the framer has a thorough conception of his subject matter and unless the candidate himself has the courage, the vision and the capacity to carry it out.

We are hearing much about platforms these days.

My platform has one plank which overshadows all the rest of the planks in mine and all the rest of the other platforms.

This plank is my unalterable opposition to all forms of the "civil rights" program.

After this I have other major planks vital to the welfare of Georgia, vital to the prosperity and progress of our State and vital to the preservation of the liberties and the way of life of our people. These I shall outline later.

Today I am sure the thoughtful people of Georgia are at long last giving deep and careful consideration to the threat that menaces them from the adoption of the Federal Civil Rights Program now sponsored not only by the Republican Party but by our own Democratic Party as well.

Pledge Our two major parties are represented in Congress which is now in session. The Republican majority is pledged to support the "civil rights" program. The Democratic minority, with the exception of a few Southern Senators and Representatives, is pledged to support the "civil rights" program.

Now I ask you, what do you thoughtful Georgians think of that situation?

Sun 8-1-48

I ask you people of Georgia, earnestly, how far are we away from a forced readjustment of our way of life? How far are we away from unwanted and undeserved strife and unrest? How far are we away from economic disaster, from business failures and farm failures caused by the disturbed conditions?

This is why I am sounding the alarm. This is why I am calling

de bloc voting possible in Georgia.
e know where I stand. If you are with me join
d help us win this fight—not only for ourselves,
ake of our children and our children's children for
t to come.

made at his opening speech at Millen to seek passage of legislation giving cities and counties almost complete authority over purely local matters. Thompson charged that Harris, although not a member of the 1947 Legislature, led this General Assembly around by the nose, and that the ex-Speaker deliberately sabotaged hundreds of local bills.

The Supreme Court nullified bills which failed to include a copy of advertising with the enrolled and engrossed copy.

Home Rule Supported By Thompson

M. L. ST. JOHN
Constitution Staff Writer

DAWSON, Sept. 1—Acting Gov. Thompson today charged former House Speaker Roy Harris, advisor to gubernatorial candidate Herman Talmadge, has for years sponsored Thompson for Governor, the candidate prevented passage of home rule legislation in order to control votes on major issues, reasons."

Commending an Atlanta Constitution editorial calling for passage of home rule legislation, Thompson reiterated a pledge

"They are indorsing me for two Thompson claimed.

"First, because of my record in office; second, because of the campaign my opponent has resorted to in an effort to control

Fight This second line of defense—and certainly our strongest line—is the continued existence of States' rights. Heretofore we have looked on States' rights as a sort of vague protection which we believed would continue on for year after year as our shield against the proposed conditions we do not want to see come.

Our Southern Senators and Representatives are making a gallant fight, but the handwriting is on the wall in Congress. Our last line of protection is right here in our own State of Georgia and we must have an administration on guard whose sincere adherence to Southern principles and traditions is unquestioned.

I believe our thoughtful people realize this.

Surely my definite, firm and solid stand taken on this question all my adult life must appeal to those who are thinking this question out.

And this appeal must be strengthened many fold when it is realized that my opposition has dodged this issue for years, is dodging it today, is wishy-washy and vacillating and is not sincere in word or thought in claiming to oppose this vicious and un-American "civil rights" program.

My opposition in this race, as all of you well know, is the same

fort to try to save his dying campaign."

Thompson offered to pay for radio time for Talmadge to repeat the Talmadge opening speech, which, Thompson said, attempted to offer an affirmative program and make Thompson's record the campaign issue.

The Acting Governor said Talmadge has forgotten this speech and "is hollering 'Nigger, Nigger, Nigger,' in an effort to get votes through racial prejudice." Thompson said he would close his own campaign with a repetition of the speech he opened with at Millen.

HELP ACKNOWLEDGED

Thompson expressed appreciation for support from an unexpected source, the Macon Telegraph, which today editorially indorsed him. Dr. Steve Kenyon, former President of the Georgia Medical Association, who introduced Thompson, praised his record with Battey Hospital and improvement of health facilities.

Rufus Jennings was master of ceremonies.

A motorcade of women leaders, led by Mrs. Ed Young, met the Acting Governor's party at Brownwood and led it into Dawson.

Thompson Isn't Dodging the Issues

Pushed into a defensive position, Acting Gov. Thompson is capitalizing on this by throwing the campaign wide open and discussing any and everything mentioned by his opponent. Unlike previous anti-Talmadge candidates who sought to ignore some remarks, Thompson went into the Tenth District the other day and turned his defensive question-answering into an offensive campaign. He offers to pay for newspaper advertising and radio time for his opponent to read Thompson's book and Herman Talmadge's budget message. After discussing the publicly-raised questions, he even reaches into the whispering campaign and answers it.

Civil rights, the Negro issue, county unit system, Jekyll Island, highway building—he doesn't soft pedal any of these items, even though he says he would prefer to keep the issue to his own record in office.

"They are whispering," Thompson told a Greensboro audience, "that former Gov. Arnall said he could have bought Jekyll for $300,000. Ellis is on the stage with us today, let's ask him about this whispered rumor."

"You bought the island cheap," Arnall replied.

"I will answer any question the opposition raises," Thompson answered. "And they had better be careful how they carry on a whispered campaign, because every time I hear their whispers I'll bring them out into the open and answer them."

To Talmadge's charges that he was dodging civil rights, "the chief issue in the race," Thompson told of joining Southern Governors in Tallahassee and again in Washington to protest this legislation. To keep the record straight, we'll report that Thompson took the same kind of "play-it-safe" policy on the civil rights proposals as State Democratic Chairman James Peters later followed at the Democratic National Convention. Neither Georgia faction wanted to be charged with either supporting the civil rights program or of bolting the Democratic Party.

To Talmadge's charge that his book of 1940 **favored consolidating counties, Thompson said** the civics book presented both sides of this question—and he offers to sponsor Talmadge in radio time and newspaper space to read the full discussion in the book. On the other hand, Thompson charges that Talmadge himself signed a bill destroying the county unit system. He says the so-called White Primary Bill offered no white primary, but, instead, destroyed all primary laws, including the county unit system.

To Talmadge's charges that he is building political roads which begin nowhere and end nowhere, Thompson tells each county exactly what his administration has done in that particular county, and challenges Talmadge to specify which road he wouldn't have built had he had an opportunity. You can judge this remark for yourself, but the Acting Governor usually lays down the promise of additional roads in these counties with this comment: "You will get this road, whether you vote for Thompson or not."

He takes Talmadge's dire forebodings about Negro foremen over white people and brands it an insult to Georgia's Congressmen for Talmadge to say that he, and he alone, can protect Georgia white people from the Negroes.

Thompson followers are enthusiastic over the fire he has developed in his campaign voice. Even Talmadge supporters admit Thompson has shown marked improvement as a speaker.

This is the Thompson side of the picture. The Talmadge group will denounce the answers; the Thompson supporters will praise them. But, we return to our original observation, Thompson seems to be discussing any and everything, instead of dodging any issue.

For Talmadge

Editor Constitution: Why was it that Acting Gov. M. E. Thompson ran on a platform two years ago, when he was running for Lieutenant Governor, to uphold the white primary and to cooperate with the Governor that was elected? Now why did he put on a two-faced act? White during the campaign and colored after election. It was white during the campaign, to get votes and after election it turned colored because Ellis told him to color it.

Roopville. M. O. LOFTIN.

Thompson vs. Talmadge

Atlanta Daily World Constitution Ga

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The following articles were written by M. E. Thompson and Herman Talmadge exclusively for The Constitution and are being carried, as a public service, without charge. Similar space will be made available to them each Sunday between now and election day.) Sun. 7-25-48

I am a candidate for the office of Governor of Georgia in the primary of Sept. 8. I seek the office on the record I have made in the 15 months I have been holding it. I am indeed indebted to The Atlanta Contitution for making this space available in order that I may frankly discuss with you the record I have made and upon which I ask your vote of confidence.

I took over the office of Governor in March of 1947, three days before the biennial session of the General Assembly was to end. The first 67 days of that session were under the administration of a man the Supreme Court ruled held the office illegally and later declared every act performed during those 67 days was invalid.

No new laws of consequence were passed and approved during those final three days during which I sat as the legal Governor. I must say few if any new laws were needed. During the 67 days the Pretender occupied the office of Governor and I was ignored by the Assembly I studied the situation thoroughly and I felt that Georgia could weli carry on if it was given a sound, honest, efficient and businesslike administration. That is exactly what I set out to do when I actually moved into the Governor's office.

Teachers

The people had shown in 1946 that they unmistakably were for a 50 percent increase in the pay of our underpaid school teachers. The teachers had shown that unless they received this increase many of them were going to other States which were paying higher salaries.

I felt that these departments should have more money. I knew it was absolutely necessary that the teachers get their raise. Georgia would be in a chaotic condition without it.

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7-25-48

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Constitution, Atlanta Ga.

'Civil Rights'

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I felt that I should take advantage of this first article in The Constitution to state my position on these most important issues openly and without reservation. It is my duty and the duty of all candidates to do so.

Negro Paper For Thompson

The Constitution

The Atlanta Daily World, Negro newspaper, has denounced Communist efforts to put a third candidate in the Georgia gubernatorial race, and has indorsed Acting Gov. Thompson for election this year.

While Thompson peeved labor leaders by signing the labor law which was virtually unanimously passed by the Legislature, he also vetoed the White Primary Bill, the paper observed. It said the right to vote is more important than some restraints placed on both Negro and white workers.

Georgia Governor For Fair Voting Law

Say Acts Forbids

By NNPA News Service

ATLANTA, Ga.—Acting Governor Melvin E. Thompson last week advocated a "reasonable and impartially administered educational requirement for voting," and declared he never would be a party to any existing trickery to try to evade the spirit of the law permitting persons of all races to vote.

Sept. 1948

He expressed the hope that the Fourth United States Circuit Court of Appeals has eliminated the "so-called white primary" as an issue in Georgia politics. He said the State Constitution provides for segregation of the races in public schools, and that he favors segregation at the polls.

Oct. 1-17-48

Herman Talmadge, regarded as a gubernatorial candidate, also has come out in favor of an educational qualifications law

Thompson vs. Talmadge

By LUKE GREENE,
Constitution Staff Writer

FITZGERALD, July 22—Chant-
ing tobacco auctioneers, relin-
quished time to Acting Gov.
Thompson here today as he ham-
mered away at questions he claims
his major opponent, Herman Tal-
madge, won't answer and threat-
ened "to drive him and Roy Har-
ris, his little boss, out from be-

hind that iron curtain."

The Acting Governor spoke on the opening day of tobacco sales. A lively crowd stood in the sun on the lawn of the Ben Hill County courthouse, applauding frequently and occasionally interrupting with yells as he defended his record and assailed Herman Talmadge, whom he referred to only as "the pretender," and Roy Harris.

He charged Talmadge would not get specific, that he talked only in "glittering generalities," and he was still "leaning on the arm of Roy."

Thompson said when the "the Governor" spoke of the people of victory," he really meant the being denied the fruits of victory."

Claiming that he had the best record of any recent previous Governor in the construction of roads, Acting Governor, who was Thompson denied he was building roads that "begin nowhere and end nowhere," as charged by his opponent.

He added the State Department of Agriculture had developed "the finest system of farmers markets in America."

Claiming that he had the support of Commissioner of Agriculture Tom Linder by saying

The crowd gave him a big hand

when he mentioned the building of a road on Jekyll Island.

Thompson devoted considerable time to the questions he had put to Talmadge.

"It hasn't taken Roy, the little boss, long to make an artful dodger out of the Pretender, for, lo and behold, what did he do at Moultrie but completely ignore my questions," Thompson asserted. "Instead he came back with some of his own."

Thompson said he was willing to answer the questions put to him by Talmadge, and he took them up, one by one, and gave his answers.

He said he was against FEPC legislation, against anti-segregation laws, for States' Rigrts, against bloc voting, against the sales tax and for retention of the county-unit system.

He insisted he was responding to the questions "just for the record" because he said anyone in Georgia should already know his views on these issues.

Thompson said he had his questions printed on handbills and distributed in Moultrie for the benefit of Talmadge, who followed him the next day from the same platform.

"The Pretender's lords and masters couldn't afford to let him answer the questions I put to him at Moultrie, my friends, and they never will let him answer," he went on.

"I'm going to repeat those questions right here and now," he said. "The people are entitled to know why he persists in these frauds."

He asked Talmadge to explain what he meant when he said the hand of death had robbed the people of the fruits of the 1946 victory. Thompson contended the program of the late Eugene Talmadge had been carried out without additional taxes.

The Acting Governor also wanted to know why Talmadge "and his gang" had attempted "to railroad a sales tax through the legislature" while now claiming to be against it.

Thompson contended that during the 67 days and nights Talmadge served as Governor during last year's controversy "he never lifted the first finger to enact into law a single one of the many things he now says he'll do for the people."

Thompson reiterated there was but one issue in the gubernatorial campaign—his record in office.

Thompson Denounces Talmadge Tactics

By GEORGE VANCE
Constitution Staff Writer

THOMASVILLE, Sept. 4—M. E. Thompson took a "watch-your-ballot-box" appeal to South Georgia today.

Accusing the Talmadgeites of wanting the Negroes and whites to vote at the same polling places, the Acting Governor declared his opposition blocked every move for separate polling places. He said his political foes killed a bill in the last Legislature to provide separate polling places for the two races. They also killed a move for separate boxes at the Talmadge convention in Macon, he added.

The Thompson convention, which met a few months earlier, passed a resolution for separate polls.

Thompson assailed the Hall County Executive Committee after receiving a report that the Committee last night had abolished the separate Negro poll at a Gainesville Negro school.

"The Pretender has the gall and brass to insult the intelligence of every honorable citizen of Georgia—both white and colored," he charged.

The candidate spoke at the Thomas County courthouse here this afternoon following a barbecue and speaking at the Brooks County courthouse in Quitman and a morning speech at the Worth County courthouse in Sylvester.

Thompson discovered some anti-FEPC pamphlets being distributed among the crowd and repeated his denunciation of Talmadge for "changing his tune and injecting the race issue into the contest."

Thompson quoted the pamphlet as saying "The one and only issue in this campaign is the race issue." He urged both whites and Negroes to vote Wednesday but to keep law and order "for the opposition would start a race riot if they thought it would take a county."

Thompson reiterated that he had made strong protests against the FEPC at the Southern Governors' meeting and in Washington. He declared Talmadge's "good morning radio record sounded like Gerald L. K. Smith's voice." Thompson said young Talmadge wanted to join up with Smith on a speaking tour several months ago, but Roy Harris wouldn't let him go.

Lashing Talmadge for forgetting his platform promises, he declared that the opposition had forgotten about the expanded service promises of his father "and everything else except the race issue."

Thompson said his administration had carried out every expanded service promise that was made in the campaign of 1946.

The candidate also warned of a pending ordinary's poll and a poll "taken by one of Roy's J. P. friends" as being untrue. He said John B. Walker may make a poll of Telfair cemeteries again."

Thompson Offers Self As Labor Aid

By JIM FURNISS
Constitution Staff Writer

MACON, Aug. 25—Acting Gov. Thompson offered himself as a referee in labor-management disputes here tonight in his first campaign speech in a heavily industrialized area outside Atlanta.

"You need as a governor a man who will alleviate, not accentuate differences in this State," he said at a political rally on the City Hall grounds.

Thompson said one of his political enemies had tried to "trap" him by asking him to send troops to Rome recently to halt a textile strike. Thompson said he refused because that would have insulted local law enforcement agencies. He added that the record had shown him to be correct.

While Thompson was speaking someone set fire to 13 bales of cotton sent to the rally from Telfair County to be auctioned off for the Acting Governor's campaign fund. The blaze was extinguished quickly and the cotton moved to a warehouse. Police said they did not know who committed the act.

Among the "thousands" Thompson said were in his crowd was a small group of men who shouted "no" when Thompson asked his usual questions of whether he had done, was doing and would do a good job.

"We know who sent you," Thompson said to them, and turning to the rest of the crowd, he said:

"I know the rest of you will treat my opponent decently when he speaks here Friday—better than he deserves."

Thompson said the voters of Georgia must repudiate "once and forevermore" race hatred, prejudice and bigotry, which he accused his opponent of spreading.

"After Sept. 8 my opponent can make that tour with Gerald L. K. Smith whtch he announced almost two years ago—and I hope for all of us he makes his tour outside of Georgia," the Acting Governor said.

Thompson was introduced by Dr. Frank Jones, a Macon osteopath, who referred to Talmadge's 67 days in the governor's office as the most "slimy, putrid and stupid experience in Georgia politics."

I. E. McKellar, retired Methodist, gave the invocation; Charles W. Walker, of the Chamber of Commerce, presided. A large group of private citizens sat on the speaker's platform.

Thompson defended his administration against charges by Herman Talmadge that there was something "crooked" about a road contract let in Polk County. He told approximately 1,000 of his supporters that the contract was "relet for bid with the approval of the Federal Public Road Administration."

Thompson Fires at Demagoguery

By JIM FURNISS
Constitution Staff Writer

ELLIJAY, Aug. 24—Acting Gov. Thompson told a large crowd at the Gilmer County Courthouse here today that Georgia's prosperity depends on an end to demagoguery in the State.

"What's going to happen to the boys on the farm displaced by machinery?" he asked. "Are they going to have to move to Atlanta or out of the State to find work?"

Thompson said, as he did earlier in day at Dahlonega, that industries are moving South. They will skip this State and go to others if they feel Georgia is split in political upheaval, he predicted.

The Acting Gov. pointed to remarks made by Herman Talmadge at Trion recently as the "lowest level yet reached in false issues and demagoguery.

"Talmadge said that the people's white sons and daughters would be working in the mills under Negro supervisors," Thompson said. He described such a statement as an insult to the intelligence of Georgia management and Georgia people.

"The Civil Rights Program was nurtured in Washington politics, used by both parties for political reasons and will die a political death," he stated.

The Acting Governor, at both Ellijay and Dahlonega, referred to his record as a road builder, naming some of the $7,000,000 worth of roads being built in Ninth Congressional District, as well as others he said he will build in the next two and a half years if elected Governor.

He promised to put the Minimum Foundation Program for Education into effect July 1, 1949; to ask the Legislature for money for rural hospitals; to step up the fight against tuberculosis; to increase the effectiveness of the Welfare Department.

At Ellijay, Thompson was introduced by L. N. Foster, City School Superintendent. Rev. H. P. Bell acted as Master of Ceremonies and Rev. C. B. Cochran gave the invocation.

At Dahlonega, the invocation was given by Rev. C. W. Beech. Mrs. Henry Moore, Co-chairman of the Lumpkin County Thompson for Governor Club, acted as Master of Ceremonies. Thompson was introduced by C. H. Davis.

The Acting Governor got a good response from his crowd when he aped Herman Talmadge and the way the son of former Governor Eugene Talmadge pulls his hair down over his eyes.

Thompson pulled his own hair over his eyes and said: "I could pose as a farmer as my opponent has done, but all I know about farming is how to plant, chop, hoe, bunch and gin cotton, how to raise corn, hogs, and peanuts.

"But really I am just a school teacher, and with the help of God and you good people I'm going to teach that boy something on September 8."

Bloc Votes for Thompson

Editor Constitution: I notice that M. E. Thompson states that he was not elected for Lieutenant Governor in 1946 by bloc votes. I just want to state what happened in Decatur County and let the people of Georgia say whether or not he was. I was one of the managers that held the election at Pine Hill District in Decatur County, and out of 43 Negroes that voted Mr. Thompson received 42 of these votes while Marvin Griffin received only one. James Carmichael got the same vote as Thompson. This also applied to the county as a whole as well as the State. Some of those Negroes only voted for Governor and Lieutenant Governor and were not interested in other races. Mr. Thompson should try telling the truth once and awhile.

Eldorendo. C. J. FRANKLIN.

If Only For This, He Is Needed

When JIM MCCORD entered the Governor's office in 1945 the state and Nation were on a war footing. The people of Tennessee and elsewhere were more concerned with winning the war than any other single thing.

That gave the new Governor an opportunity to study the needs of the state, to review the requirements of its institutions and to inspect the household, as it were, that had been neglected in the all-out effort to prosecute the war.

He found many things in sad disrepair, some in shameful condition such as the state's educational system. With quiet, systematic purposefulness he set out on a rehabilitation program. Large revenue was needed to rescue Tennessee's schools.

Only a sales tax—anathema to politicians—could provide that revenue since the state constitution prohibits an income tax and property sources are largely reserved for local government. Ad valorem, use and luxury taxes could not be increased to the point calculated to bring sufficient revenue because the law of diminishing returns sets in—buyer resistance.

Realizing the urgency of the school needs, JIM MCCORD advocated a sales tax. Political graveyards are strewn with the bones of public officials who took that step. This he well knew, but he believed the people of Tennessee would recognize the plight of their schools, which is to say, their children. In any event, he courageously embarked on a program that has brought Tennessee back on the road to better education, necessary education.

THE Democratic Party tomorrow begins its national convention in Philadelphia under strifeful circumstances induced by an effort to force impractical conditions on the South. President TRUMAN has voiced approval of a program for Federal prosecution of law enforcement officers who were unsuccessful in preventing lynchings, an employment commission that would force employers to choose help in ratio to race or creed instead of abilities.

The South is against lynchings. It is also against the gang killings in other sections. The majority of Southerners is against intolerance. It is also against regimentation in employment. It is against force bills, particularly if aimed at this section, but opposed to them for any area of these United States.

Through education it has made strides in solving the problem peculiarly its own—a large racial minority that has not had the economic or academic span of years to bring an awareness of thoroughgoing responsibility. Until such an awareness is achieved—and it must be done through education—it will continue to resist short cuts proposed for political expediency, knowing the results of previous efforts first hand.

The work must be done at the bottom, at the local level, through improved education.

GOVERNOR MCCORD instituted a program aimed at improving Tennessee's educational system. He took the lead in banding the Southern states into a regional plan to enlarge institutions of higher learning. Because of a low prorational income the South was unable to keep pace with other sections. Combining its resources, it will be able to offer greater opportunities.

JIM MCCORD is clearing the way to a better understanding in the South through a slow but effective and lasting process of education. The people of Tennessee should return him to office if for no other purpose than to affirm his program.

He has the courage and the vision to see it well on its way. (Incidentally, he has shown his opposition that he can give better than it sends in a political scrap, too.) His community and his state have given him many assignments, and he has performed them excellently. He could have retired with the satisfaction of jobs well done had he chosen not to run this time.

But there were those, this newspaper among them, who feared what might happen to the program in the alien hands of the politically ambitious. He was prevailed upon to seek another term. It is reassuring to learn that Tennessee voters apparently intend to see that he gets it.

34a(1) 1948

Gubernatorial (Texas)

Texan Espouses Civil Rights Program

The Black Dispatch

Although Governor Buford Jester, of Texas, was one o those who growled around about civil rights and was one o the leaders in the revolt of southern governors, it is interest ing to note in his candidacy for the governorship of Texas h has announced a platform and program which steals much o President Truman's thunder. Apparently Governor Jeste has been holding his head to the ground in recent weeks an has heard the rumble of the common people.

In his announcement for re-election, Governor Jester's platform includes a civil rights program under which the pol tax will be abolished, equal facilities would be provided re gardless of race, and an anti-lynching bill passed. Looks a though the threat of federal interference is having substan tial impact upon Dixie thinking. We wonder whether friend Jester held a conference with Governor Fielding Wrignt o Mississippi before he announced his apostacy.

There is no question but that the average southern poli tician has been playing the wave of liberal sentiment sweeping the nation slightly short up to the present time. As they labor out among the hustings they are beginning to awaken to the fact that they have lost contact with public thinking. An instance of this sort is happening right here in Oklahoma. Gomer Smith, a candidate for the United States senate, spoke at Idabel quite recently. Smith has come out openly against the President's civil rights program and has made several state-wide addresses along this line. In his Idabel address, candidate Smith proclaimed long and loud against anti-lynching legislation, FEPC, and gave his support to segregation before an audience down in Little Dixie that did not favor him with a handclap.

This is perhaps what is happening to other Dixie oracles who are wont to beat their breasts and talk about white supremacy quadrennially, and during presidential elections. But it just is not working this year. The recent Fisher trial at Norman found a courthouse packed with whites, 99 per cent of whom were openly supporting efforts of a Negro girl to enroll in the University of Oklahoma. They showed their bias with shrill bursts of laughter every time NAACP counsel took a pot-shot at the attorney general.

The Norman hearing last week proved conclusively that argument about "Northern interference" no longer develops more than a yawn right in the heart of Little Dixie, and it must have come as a distinct shock to the attorney general, who also is a candidate for the senate, to discover while he was making a vicious argument for segregation in an unsegregated courthouse, the natives were having a Roman holiday at his expense, while a business woman on Main street was feeling Negroes openly in her cafe.

Then too, the unsegregated meetings candidate Henry Wallace has held all over the South, together with the arrest of Senator Glenn Taylor at Birmingham, has had proper reaction among the proletariate. Their eyes have been opened as never before. At last the common ordinary white man is beginning to know that "big wood is different from brush." Governor Jester is learning down in Texas the hard way.

It is important for Negroes also to recognize the significant sweep of this liberal sentiment over the nation. Very few of the leaders seem to be noting the revolutionary trends. At least they are too conservatice to throw themselves into the progressive stream. But it will be unfortunate for the minority group to which black men in America belong if in an hour when whites awaken to the common interests between the two groups, Negro leadership remain asleep or at least inactive.

Oklahoma City, Okla.

In Oklahoma and the nation from now until November, effort should be made to support candidates who openly espouse civil rights programs. Those who run for state legislative posts and those who seek position in the national congress should be scrutinized closely to determine their inclination to support or oppose civil rights. In Oklahoma civil rights include breaking up jim crow schools. In fact, it compasses every previous governmental principle that places the badge of inferiority upon the Negro.

Sat 6-5-48

The truth is, Governor Jester's move down in Texas, plus the favorable reaction of the whites at Norman last week during the Ada Lois Fisher case, may cause some of our Oklahoma candidates to become openly pro-civil rights. The present situation in Oklahoma is a very challenging one.

HARLEM BALLOTS TO SELECT 'MAYOR'

The Times New York, N. Y.

Apparent Choice, Restaurant Owner, Ran on Campaign for Cleaner Streets

34a(1) Wed. 3-17-48

A closely contested campaign that was conducted from thirty-seven polling places resulted last night in the election of an "Unofficial Mayor" for Harlem, the world's largest Negro community. With three candidates in the field, the apparent choice was Sherman Hibbitt, a business man, who had a heavy majority in the "Hill" section along Amsterdam and St. Nicholas Avenues.

More than 14,000 votes had to be counted, "with no voting machines in use," election officials lamented. The other two candidates were Peter Robertson who was reported "personally out of the race, but officially stil in it," and Mrs. Madeline McCoy, president of the Shopowners Association of Harlem.

All candidates sought votes on community improvement issues, and were said to have spent $10,000 in advertising, for speakers and the use of sound truck equipment. The interest was said to have been keen. New York, N. Y.

The campaign was the result of a burst of community pride aided b ythe three Harlem weekly newspapers, The Amsterdam News, The New York Age and The Peoples Voice. The Pittsburg Courier which has a large Harlem circulation also took a lively interest in the election. The Times

The creation of the Negro Locality Mayor's Committee of New York, Inc., which sponsored the election, was attributed to another business leader, Reuben J. Patton, who believed, he said, that the "bad name" that Harlem has been getting has been due to its poor press relations. With 14,000 voters showing an interest in the campaign, he said, "it will now be easy to direct community action to several worth-while projects." Wed.

The presence of Hugo E. Rogers, President of the Borough of Manhattan, at the polling place in the West 135th Street Branch of the Y. W. C. A., took the lid off a box of "trend stories," but Mr. Rogers said that his vote was "purely a personal choice," and all talk about "official" blessings for an "unofficial" Mayor died down. 3-17-48

Mr. Hibbitt came to New York City in 1941 from Detroit where he had built up a baker business. At present he operates three restaurants and a novelty shop, employing nineteen persons, both Negro and white. A native of Kentucky, he is married, and is 39 years old. Wed 3-17-48

His "number one proposition for the city," he said, is "clean up the streets, especially the side streets."

AT THE POLLS IN HARLEM'S LOCAL ELECTION YESTERDAY

Wed. 3-17-48

Edward Hill (left) and Sherman Hibbitt, a candidate for title of "Mayor of Harlem," watching voter Larry Hargrave sign register in tailor shop at 2585 Eighth Avenue. The New York Times 3-17-48

Deny Pay For Votes In Harlem Election

Atlanta Daily World

NEW YORK. — (NNPA) — The Unofficial Mayor's Committee of Harlem, whose election in Harlem on March 16 of an "unofficial mayor" brought out 30,677 votes for that mythical office, last Thursday denied that each voter was paid 25 cents for that privilege. Wed 3-31-48

Atlanta, Ga. 3/31/48

The committee, an affiliate of the Negro Locality Mayor's Committee of New York, Inc., said the report that each voter had paid 25 cents was erroneous, since "being otherwise, we would have been supporting a poll tax, which we are against."

evelopments

Republicans Pick Burton to Take Powell's Seat

The Afro-American

Mayor Asks One to Resign, Wants Another Fired; High-Salaried Men Not Reappointed

Baltimore, Md.

3-27-48

By JAMES L. HICKS

NEW YORK (NNPA)—Harlem political circles reached the fever pitch in excitement last week. The Republicans named Harold C. Burton to oppose Congressman Adam C. Powell; Mayor William O'Dwyer called for, and received, the resignation of one Harlem political boss and demanded the firing of another; and Mrs. Sara Pelham Speaks was disbarred from the New York bar on charges of professional misconduct in a move that had political overtones.

Adding to the excitement created by the above moves were these sidelight events:

Grant Reynolds, who had been prominently mentioned as a possible Republican candidate against Powell, refused to remove himself from the race and may enter his candidacy on the Republican ticket by petition.

Powell's Ex-Manager Out

The New York Times

Democratic support for the renomination of Powell faced a possible split because Joseph Ford, one of the colored men whom Mayor O'Dwyer has ordered fired is an aide and former campaign manager of Congressman Powell 22nd District representative.

Baltimore, Md.

So tense was the situation, that Burton himself told reporters he had no comment on his nomination. Announcement of his nomination was made by Thomas J. Curran, New York Republican County chairman, following a conference of Assembly District leaders last Thursday.

Burton, leader of the powerful Crispus Attucks Republican League, had stood squarely in the door and let it be konwn that he would oppose the nomination of Reynolds. 3-18-48

Ford's Aid Not Overlooked

Ford was included in a group of five Democratic leaders whom O'Dwyer demanded that Manhattan Borough President Hugo Rogers fire for their support of Tammany Hall in its attempt to name General Sessions Judge Francis L. Valente as Surrogate of New York County.

The move not only put Powell on the spot, but it also hits Rogers because of the valuable support Ford and four other men gave him in his own political rise. Ford is employed in Rogers' office. At week's end, Rogers had not yet acted on the Mayor's request.

2 Not Reappointed Yet

Adding spice to the political wooing currently going on in Harlem is the fact that neither Elmer A. Carter, $10,000 SCAD commissioner, nor Grant Reynolds, commissioners of corrections, has been reapppointed although no successors have been named.

Disbarment of Mrs. Speaks on charges of professional misconduct gave fuel for more political rumors, many stating that Mrs. Speaks, a Republican who ran for Congress in 1944, had been disbarred because of embarrassment to the Democratic administration.

8-Point Platform Covers Lynching, Vote Bans Jobs

CHICAGO—An eight-point program for achieving full civil rights for Negroes was unanimously endorsed by the National Wallace for President Committee after being drawn up by a group of thirty-two Negro delegates to the committee's first national conference here last week.

The resolution in civil rights was passed a few moments before the convention issued a call for the founding convention of the new political party, to be held in Philadelphia, Jully 24 and 25.

Three Negro leaders were named among the ten Wallace supporters elected to committees to plan the new national party convention. They were Roscoe Dunjee, Oklahoma, chairman of the nominations committee; Mrs. Charlotta Bass, California, secretary of the credentials committee, and Dr. Metz T. P. Lochard, Illinois, secretary of the arrangements committee.

The convention was addressed by Paul Robeson, co-chairman of the National Wallace for President Committee, and George Murphy, assistant campaign manager.

The Rev. Paul E. Turner, pastor of the First Youth Community Church of Chicago, presented the resolution, which declared that "the struggle of the 14,000,000 Negro people whose life blood is woven into the fabric of our country's Constitution and the Bill of Rights constitutes the very core of the strength of the new party."

The National Wallace Conference pledged itself to "fight and speak out vigorously during the coming months" on the following issues:

1. To abolish lynching, mob violence and legal lynching as in the case of Mrs. Rosa Ingram whose life imprisonment has been sustained by the Georgia courts.

2. To recognize that all forms of jim crowism, religious, racial and political persecution and discrimination are contrary to all religious and democratic ideals and must be wiped out in every area.

3. To enact legislation which will guarantee that the exploitation of workers is ceased, that the fight be strengthened for the full integration for all workers in every phase of employment.

4. To pass a permanent Fair Employment Practices Act.

5. To pass a Fair Housing Practices Act.

6. To outlaw the poll tax and voting barriers.

7. To abolish segregation in education.

8. To abolish segregation on all common carriers.

Pledging support to Henry Wallace and Senator Glen H. Taylor, his running mate for Vice Presidential candidate of the new party, the resolution, drawn up by the thirty-two Negro delegates, states that "the new party in America today is a people's party whose roots spring from the common struggle for freedom that is the heritage of the whole American people."

"BETRAYERS"

The Democratic and Republican parties, the resolution said, "have used, misused and abused the Negro people, who have now come into the new party as American citizens thoroughly disgusted with the no-nothing, hypocritical betrayal of the two other parties."

Negro delegates who met and drew up the resolution were:

Albert J. Taylor, recording secretary ILWAU-CIO, New Orleans; the Rev. Charles A. Hall, pastor of Hartford Avenue Baptist Church, vice chairman of State Committee for Wallace, Detroit; William H. Watts, M. D., vice chairman, State executive committee and member National Committee for Wallace, Baltimore; Joseph L. Johnson, Wallace Steering Committee, Washington; the Rev. Paul E. Turner, pastor, First Youth Community Church, Chicago; Thomas M. Clarke, Fourth Ward Progressive party, Chicago; Marorie C. Edwards, Washington.

Florence A. Castile, organizational secretary, Southern Negro Youth Congress, Birmingham; Edward Johnson, independent committee, UAW-CIO, Local 761, Indianapolis; Beatrice M. Fleming, member Michigan State Central and National Committee, Detroit; Edward Tolan, Detroit; Charles P. Howard, vice chairman, Iowa State Committee, Des Moines; Paul Robeson, New York City; William L. Harris, State Executive Committee of Kansas for Wallace, Topeka; William S. Price, State Vice Chairman of Kansas for Wallace, Topeka.

John E. Camper, M. D., co-chairman of Maryland Progressive party and national committee, Baltimore; Samuel Scott, chairman, Peoples Political Committee, president Business and Professional Association, member of national and State committee, Pittsburgh; Kenneth C. Kennedy, Chicago; Erma L. Henderson, Detroit; Florine Camper, Baltimore;

Ulysses S. Keys, Progressive party candidate for Municipal Court judge, Chicago; Bertram S. Alves, New York State executive officer UNAVA, Harlem PCA, New York; W. C. Edwards, national chairman UNAVA, Washington; Andrew Nelson, president of Local 207 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, also international executive board member of the international union, member of State executive board of Louisiana State Wallace committee and chairman of State labor committee, Louisiana; the Rev. C. Townsend Tucker, president of the American Anti-Prejudice Society, Inc., Denver;

Miss Moranda Smith, State executive board, Raleigh, N. C.; Edna Johnson, Indiana Citizens for Wallace, executive board, Indianapolis; Charles P. Howard Jr., chairman, finance committee First Congressional District, Progressive party, Chicago; John L. Glenn, Houston; Alexander Wright, vice president, Pennsylvania State Committee for Wallace, and member of national committee, Pittsburgh.

Editor Scott Joins Group Working In Truman Campaign

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(SNS)—C. A. Scott, Editor-General Manager of the Atlanta Daily World, accepted an invitation Monday to join the National Citizens Committee for the re-election of President Harry S. Truman, in a telegram to Congress William L. Dawson, Representative of the First Illinois District.

Mr. Scott thereby joined a growing list of Southerners who have promised to wage an all-out campaign to re-elect the president. Previously, Atty. Austin T. Walden, President of the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs, had accepted an invitation to join the Committee.

In Birmingham, Ala., Atty. A. D. Shores, prominent attorney also had accepted a bid to support the president.

Other outstanding Southerners are joining forces with liberals in the South, East, Midwest and on the Coast to aid the Truman campaign.

Editor Scott, who is president of the Fulton County Citizens Democratic Clubs, wired Congressman Dawson: "I too, feel President Truman will not turn back on his civil rights stand and will continue our nation towards a fuller democracy for all despite strong opposition. I also feel through his re-election we can best attain those fundamental rights which we do not have but are entitled to as citizens. Therefore, I pledge you support for his re-election and am willing to serve on a committee for this purpose."

Dawson To Assist Chairman Of Dem Nat'l Committee

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Congressman William L. Dawson of Illinois, has been named assistant to the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, it was learned this week. He served in a similar capacity in 1944.

John H. Young, Chicago Defender reporter, was named assistant to Jack Redding, publicity director of the Democratic committee. Headquarters for the committee were opened this week in the Biltmore Hotel in New York City.

WILLIAM L. DAWSON

MRS. ANN HEDGEMAN

AARON PAYNE

MRS. MARY McLEOD BETHUNE

THE ABOVE members of the National Citizens Committee for the Re-Election of President Truman along with scores of others across the nation have pledged to raise over a million dollars to help finance the campaign of President Truman. This action followed decision of Dixiecrats to withhold all Democratic funds from President Truman. An immediate response is predicted in the nation-wide drive.

JOHN H. SENGSTACKE

WILLIARD TOWNSEND

We Must Help With Our Dollars

Memphis World

The nationwide campaign to raise funds to insure the re-election of President Harry S. Truman was keynoted by Mrs. Anna Arnold Hedgeman Sunday at Wheat Street Baptist Church. The speaker impressed her audience with her simple yet firm presentation of the gains to result from the continued progressive administration of the nation's Chief Executive.

Mrs. Hedgman told Atlantans to support the president with their ballots and dollars, because if Mr. Truman was returned to the White House and all-out fight would be waged for civil rights legislation to insure the well-being of all citizens.

As a result of Mrs. Hedgeman's dynamic appeal a statewide fund-raising compaign was launched in which Atlantans and Georgians will have an opportunity to rebuke the forces of reaction by supporting in a tangible manner, Mr. Truman's program for liberalism. Dollars along with a renewed demand for the inclusion of Mr. Truman's name on all ballots in Southern states, is a must for all people who still are willing to express their preferences in a democratic and constitutional way.

So, it is with worth mentioning that Raymond Pace Alexander, Philadelphia lawyer in spearheading the organization of similar fund-raising committee; told Virginia Negroes at Richmond that such a move was to fill the breach created by the defection of States' Rights Democrats from the regular party.

Atty. Pace said 'If Negroes do not support the President no, white man in high political or Government position will feel he can risk his future in the future on such issues even when a question of morals is uppermost."

Mrs. Hedgeman and Atty. Pace are correct and we wholeheartedly endorse the viewpoint of both speakers. If load. in this a Georgia, as Mrs. Hedgeman suggests, raise several thousand dollars to support Pres. Truman, it will encourage not only the President, but other liberals to go forward towards liberal and progressive Americanism. Georgians should shower dollars into the Atlanta and Georgia Truman For President Club, in order to shoulder Negroes' share of the financial burden in this all-important fight for human rights.

Citizens Map Plans For Democratic Victory In November Election

By LOUIS MARTIN

NEW YORK CITY—With a million dollars as its goal, the newly organized National Citizens Committee for the Re-Election of President Truman will be directed by Mrs. Ann Hedgeman it was announced Monday by Congressman William L. Dawson honorary chairman of the citizens group and assistant to the chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

Mrs. Hedgeman who is the former executive director of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC and a former YWCA executive, opened the committee's headquarters in the Biltmore Hotel, in New York City, this week. Mrs. Hedgeman was recently awarded the degree of Doctor of Humane Letters by her alma mater, Hamline College in Minesota.

John H. Sengstacke, editor and publisher of the Chicago Defender, will serve as vice-chairman and treasurer of the committee. Mr. Sengstacke stated this week: "We will raise ten dollars for every one dollar withheld by the Dixiecrats who are fighting Mr. Truman over the Negro issue."

Congressman Dawson disclosed that vice-chairmen of the National Comittee will be named in various sections of the country to coordinate the work of local committees, which are now being organized.

Last week Congressman Dawson wired leaders throughout the country, asking them to sponsor the million-dollar project. His wire read in part: "I am asking you to join with us as a National Citizens Committee for the Re-Election of President Truman to work for, vote for and help finance the campaign among us."

Typical of the responses were the following:

Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune Daytona Beach, Fla., "You do not need to ask me I am standing in the front ranks with Truman."

Atty. George L. Vaughn of St. Louis, "I accept and will serve, congratulations."

Rev. Clayton Russell of Los Angeles, "Happy to serve on National Citizens Committee for the Re-Election of President Truman."

Publisher C. A. Scott of Atlanta, "Feel President Truman will not turn back on his civil rights stand. I pledge you support."

J. Raymond Jones of New York City, "I deem it a privilege and accept with pleasure and enthusiasm."

Among the first to respond to the appeal of Congressman Dawson were the following:

Atty. Arthur D. Shores, Birmingham; Dr. J. M. Robinson, Little Rock; Rev. Julian Taylor, Ansonia, Conn.; Rev. Clayton D. Russell, Los Angeles; Mrs. Fay Allen, Los Angeles; Henry H. T. S. Johnson, Oakland, Calif.; Atty. A. T. Walden, Atlanta; C. A. Scott, Atlanta; Sen. C. C. Wimbish Chicago; Maj. James A. McLendon, Chicago; Mrs. Marjorie Joyner, Chicago; Ald. William H. Harvey, Chicago.

Herbert L. Brice New York; A. Fay Bennett, Utica, N. Y.; Dr Edward P. Jones, New York; Archibald M. Ray New York; James E. Williams, Jamaica, N. Y.; James E. sell Holland, Buffalo, N. Y.; J. Luther Sylvahn, Syracuse, N. Y.; Edward W. White, New York; James A. Ross, New York; Mrs. Margaret V. Brown, Brooklyn; Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, Daytona Beach, Fla.; J. Raymond Jones, New York; Hon. C. Mott Shavers, New York.

William L. Houston Washington; Mrs. Venice T. Spraggs, Washington; Mrs. Merceds Rector Washington; Edward Williams, Washington, Dr. Harry Penn, Roanoke, Va.; Andrew M. Bradley, Harrisburg, Pa.; Marshall Shepard, Philadelphia; Austin Norris, Philadelphia; J. Thomas Pettigrew, Philadelphia; Rev. E. Luther Cunningham, Philadelphia; Joseph Pinckney, New York; Assemblyman Wm. T. Andrews, New York; Miss Wilhelmina Adams, New York; Hulan Jack, New York.

Hon. Charles M. Sykles, Chicago; Atty. Frank M. Summers, E. St. Louis, Ill.; Atty. Benjamin Wilson, Gary, Ind.; Frank Stanley, Louisville, Ky.; Lloyal Randolph, Baltimore; Atty. George Vaughn, St. Louis; Jordan Chambers St. Louis, Louis E. Martin, Detroit; Sen. Joseph A. Brown, Detroit; Atty. Harold Bledsoe, Detroit; Dr. Silas F. Taylor, Boston; J. E. Mitchell St. Louis; Charles V. Carr, Cleveland.

Hon. Fred J. Smith, Chicago; Rev. J. C. Austin, Chicago; Rev. E. R. Williams, Chicago; Rev. Clarence H. Cobbs, Chicago; Rev. Louis Ford Chicago; Hon. Edward M. Sneed, Chicago; Robert Miller, Chicago; Willard S. Townsend, Chicago; Atty. Truman K. Gibson Jr., Chicago; Hon. Corneal Davis, hicago; Miss Olive Diggs, Chicago.

Mrs. Helen K. Hall, Chicago; Mrs. Edith S. Clayton, Chicago; Mrs. Mildred Casey, Chicago; Hon. Oliver W. Hill, Richmond, Va.; Daniel W. Ambrose Charleston, W. Va.; Atty. Aaron H. Payne, Chicago; Percy Greene, Jackson, Miss.

TRUMAN COMMITTEE FORMED BY NEGROES

John R. Arnold Jr. Is Named Chairman—$25,000 Sought

Announcement of the formation of a committee of Memphis negroes to support the candidacy of President Truman was made yesterday by John R. Arnold Jr., business manager of the Friendly Clinic, 514 Beale who was chosen chairman of the group.

The organization, known as the "Truman For President Committee," will seek to raise $25,000 among Memphis negroes for the Democratic campaign fund with a slogan of "A dollar a man for a true man and civil rights."

In the near future, Arnold said, "Truman Day" will be held in all the negro churches in the city, with either Representative William Daws (D., Ill.), or Dr. Marshall Shepard, recorder of deeds at Washington, D. C., as the principal speaker. Both of the latter are negroes, he said.

Cochairman of the committee is Dr. E. A. Witherspoon. Other officers are Verna Gregory, secretary; Joseph E. Cotton, treasurer; Nat Williams and Noble Owens Jr., publicity directors; Earl Williams, photographer. Members of the Steering Committee are Dr. S. B. Hickman, Louis Johnson, Wilchie Cox, Matthew Hudson Sr., Taylor C. D. Hayes, D. J. Thomas Jr., Jesse Turner, J. A. Beauchamp and Rev. A. Gladney.

Arnold said individuals may mail contributions to the committee in care of the Tri-State Bank of Memphis, 386 Beale.

Arnold recently was named Tennessee member of a national Truman committee among negroes.

Let's Put Up Or Shut Up

For 43 years the Chicago Defender has demanded that "American Race Prejudice Must Be Destroyed"

Today President Harry Truman is being crucified by angry Southerners, who are determined to rule or ruin the Democratic Party, because he demands action on his civil rights program and is leading the fight for full citizenship for all Americans.

An Editorial

Many state organizations of the Democratic Party in the South have conspired to withhold all funds from the Democratic National Committee in a supreme effort to break the liberal back of the party. President Truman has refused to surrender to this stick-up and the new Democratic Party has chosen to risk bankruptcy rather than break faith with the ideals of democracy.

What are Negro Americans going to do? Are we going to let Mr. Truman down? The answer must be a ringing NO. For every dollar the Dixiecrats withhold from the campaign chest of the President, Negroes will give ten.

Frequently we have been charged with buying what we want and begging for what we need. Today Dixiecrats charge that Negroes want to take over the Democratic Party but do not want to assume any responsibilities for maintaining the party.

These slanderous lies will be answered for all time now. A National Committee, supported by local committees throughout the nation, is being organized to raise funds to finance the campaign of President Truman.

The Chicago Defender, which has always stood in the forefront of the battle for full citizenship, believes that the time has come for every individual one of us to take positive action. Let us now and forever Put Up or Shut Up.

Signed
John H. Sengstacke
Editor and Publisher

Negro Urged To Give Support To President

Negroes must "swarm to the polls as never before and help elect President Truman if true democracy is to thrive in America," George L. Vaughn, St. Louis attorney, declared here yesterday.

Truman, through his civil-rights program, has jeopardized his chances of election and all minority groups must now come to his rescue, Vaughn said. He described civil rights as "the basic issue in the campaign."

Vaughn spoke at a Civil Rights Day rally at Memorial Auditorium. The rally was sponsored by the Kentucky Civil Rights Committee for the Election of Truman and Barkley. It wastion. He listed them as: estimated that approximately 800 persons attended the meeting.

Argued Court Case.

The attorney was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Philadelphia, where he presented the minority report of the credentials committee which attempted to restrain the Mississippi delegation from being seated. He also argued the recent case before the United States Supreme Court that invalidated court orders preventing Negroes from occupying property covered by a restrictive deed.

"The color question in the United States is an integral part of the color question in the world," Vaughn said. Peace depends on its proper solution, he added. "We can not expect to assume world leadership until we clean up our own back yard."

Vaughn said that Truman faced four major enemies in the election. He listed them as:

1. Henry Wallace, the Progressive Party candidate, who "is sore over having been put out of Truman's Cabinet because he didn't have sense enough to go along with his Government."
2. The Dixiecrats, "those misguided people who do not represent the South, but misrepresent it."
3. The National Association of Manufacturers, which "owns the Republican Party."
4. Private oil interests that want oil tidelands put under State ownership because they can corrupt State Governments and reap rich rewards.

'Dixiecrats Misguided.'

FEDERAL COURT RULES (NEGRO) DESIGNATION ON BALLOT IS NOT A BURDEN TO RACE CANDIDATES

The Daily Dispatch
Oklahoma City Okla.

Amos Hall to File Appeal to U. S. Supreme Court

RIVAL JUSTICE OF PEACE CANDIDATES ENTER JOINT SUIT

TULSA.—A three-judge federal court ruled here Thursday that racial designation of Negro candidates on state election ballots is not discriminatory. Two rival candidates for justice of peace, David Hodge, a Republican, and Wilbur Mof-Thefitt, Democrat, were the plaintiffs.

The two candidates, both represented by Oklahoma's resident NAACP attorney, Amos T. Hall ,local barrister, had asked a federal court injunction to compel state and the Tulsa county election board to leave off a "Negro" racial designation placed after their names on the ballot.

Hearing the petition were Judge A. P. Murrah, circuit court of appeals; District Judge Edgar S. Vaught, both of Oklahoma City, and District Judge Royce H. Savage, Tulsa. They opinioned that the (Negro) designation in compliance with Oklahoma election laws does not impose a burden on Negro candidates, as claimed in Hall's petition in behalf of Hodge and Moffitt.

Pub 10-16-48

Further, Judge Vaught, Oklahoma City, asserted that the two candidates "should be proud of your race, as any other race would be," and queried of Hall, if he wanted the designation moved to conceal the candidate's racial identity.

Hall denied such intent and proffered, "If the legislature was serious about enlightening the public for any other reason than race, it would not be objectionable ... If the word Negro is permitted on the ballot now, it is just a step from race to creed, and the word (Jew) will be placed next behind the name onthe ballot."

Assistant State Attorney General Fred Hanse argued a Oklahoma court had held that Negro candidates shall be so designated "so voters cannot be deceived or misles." Moffitt won the Democratic nomination on the July 27 primary ballot which carried the "Negro" designation, and contended this fact excluded statement of "injury."

Hall plans direct appeal to the United States supreme court on a petition to be filed this week.

Civil-Rights Views Asked 3 Candidates

Courier-Journal
Fri 7-23-48

Frankfort Man Seeks Senate-Race Stand

Louisville Ky

Frankfort, Ky., July 22 (AP)—State's rights or the civil rights program was put up to Kentucky's three candidates for the Democratic nomination for United States Senator today.

Harry G. Fielder, Frankfort, a supporter of the Southern Democrats, made public letters to John Young Brown, Virgil Chapman, and Milton T. Whitworth, declaring Kentucky Democrats have a right to know their stand before the August 7 primary.

He also wrote them that if they ignore the question, "it will be taken for granted" that they support President Truman's civil-rights program, instead of State's rights and the Bill of Rights in the United States Constitution. He added:

"Should you support the former (civil rights), I defy you to let the voters know the meaning of the Ninth and 10th Amendments to the Bill of Rights and publicly harmonize it with your views on civil rights."

7-23-48

Kentucky's delegation at the Democratic convention in Philadelphia voted in favor of Truman's civil-rights program, which the convention adopted after a hot fight by most southern delegates.

Rankin Faces Tough Battle To Retain Seat

Special to The New York Times and The Courier-Journal.

Jackson, Miss., July 24.—The most interesting fact developing in this state's primary campaign is that Representative John E. Rankin of the First Congressional District, is facing a tough fight in a three-corner race. The primary is August 24.

Rankin, nationally known as a champion of white-supremacy views, is facing competition from Circuit Judge Raymond T. Jarvis, Booneville, and Claude Clayton, former circuit judge of Tupelo.

Although there is plenty of campaigning ahead, the candidacy of Jarvis at this time is a decided threat to Rankin's bid for continuance in office and many now regard Jarvis as the favorite.

GLADSTONE WILLIAMS

Did Wallace Help Arnall's Prospects?

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga. Journal 1-8-48

WASHINGTON—Many observers are making a fresh appraisal of Ellis Arnall's chances of landing the Democratic vice presidential nomination in the light of the announcement of Henry A. Wallace that he will head a third party ticket this year.

There is a feeling that the former Georgia Governor's prospects have been definitely helped by the Wallace third party developments. The Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Journ

It works out this way. Next to Wallace himself, Arnall is generally recognized as perhaps the outstanding liberal of the country. He was a leader of the liberal forces which sought to renominate Wallace for Vice President at the Chicago convention of 1944.

His administration as Governor of Georgia was widely acclaimed as one of the most progressive the State has seen in years. In recognition of his record he has been much in demand since leaving the Governor's chair as a public speaker throughout the country. This has served to give him a great deal of valuable advertising over the country and to make him better known personally than any of his predecessors in a decade or more. 1-8-48

Heir? 'But the thing that gives Arnall strength as a potential vice presidential candidate on the ticket with President Truman is his liberal background. He is looked upon in many quarters as the heir to the mantle of Democratic liberal leadership surrendered by Henry Wallace when he left the party to head up a third-party movement. The Constitution

It is argued that Mr. Truman and the powers that be may see the need now for placing an outstanding liberal on the Democratic ticket to offset the Wallace defection. If that reasoning prevails, Ellis Arnall would seem to fill the bill as well or better than anyone who comes to mind. Atlanta, Ga.

In this respect, he is much in the same position with the Democrats as former Gov. Harold E. Stassen, of Minnesota, is with the Republicans. It is generally conceded that Stassen's chances for capturing the Republican vice presidential nomination have been greatly improved by the Wallace third party enterprise. That is because he is an outstanding GOP liberal who would tend to give the party ticket better balance. Thurs 1-8-48

State Backing Gov. Arnall is yet to indicate, of course, whether he intends to make an active bid for the second place on the party ticket. If he does, there is this much to be said about his chances. Quite a lot will depend on the support he receives from the Georgia delegation to the next national convention.

It is axiomatic of politics that he would have to go to the convention with the strong backing of his State delegation. Rarely if ever has either major party nominated a man without this backing of his home delegates. The Constitution

Arnall would be in a much better strategic position if he still occupied the Governor's chair. In that way he would be in control of the State delegation and would be able to use it as a nucleus for other support. Atlanta, Ga.

The fight over party control in Georgia between the Thompson and Talmadge forces may have an important bearing on the convention situation. Much may depend on who selects the slate of delegates from Georgia. Thurs. 1-8-48

If the Talmadge forces name the delegates, it is hardly likely that Arnall's candidacy would be given any sort of boost.

Up to Truman Still another thing is to be considered in connection with the candidacy of any individual for the Democratic vice presidential nomination. That is the attitude of President Truman. The Constitution

Custom dictates that the President be accorded the privilege of selecting his running mate. He almost always is.

If that holds true at the coming Philadelphia convention, it will be more a matter of Mr. Truman's personal choice. He might be influenced by the support some candidate was able to muster, but then again he might not. Atlanta, Ga

In other words, it would be of no particular advantage for a vice presidential candidate to go out and seek to corral a large block of delegates supporting him. What would be of more importance would be White House favor. A hand-picking process usually determines who will be the President's running mate.

So far as known, former Gov. Arnall is on the best of relations with Mr. Truman, even though he was a Wallace supporter at the Chicago convention four years ago. There is certainly nothing in the relationship to suggest that the Georgian's nomination would be unaccentable to the President. Thurs 1-8-48

34a(1) 1948

Presidential (Dewey)

Joe Louis Backing Gov. Dewey

Heavyweight Champion Joe Louis greets Gov. Thomas E. Dewey before the latter left New York on the last leg of his campaign. The titleholder told the Governor that he thought he would be as good a President as he had been chief executive of New York State, and that Dewey would get his vote. Dewey told Louis, "I don't want you to fight again, Joe."

Ministers Asked To Leave Court Square At Dewey-Acuff Political Rally; Refuse: "We're not Slaves"

Within the brief period of a week, Negroes have been chased or asked to leave Court Square during political rallies. Latest Incident involved three ministers who were on hand to hear speeches by the State Republican candidate, Representative B. Carroll Reece, candidate for U. S. Senate, and Roy Acuff, popular hillbilly star and candidate for the governorship.

Molested were: Revs. A. D. Brown, pastor of New Tyler AME Church, H. C. Walker, pastor of Rock of Ages CME Church, and DeWitt T. Alcorn, CME minister and secretary of the Memphis Negro Senior Chamber of Commerce.

When approached by a police officer and told to leave the park with the explanation that Court Square belongs to white people, the minister replied: "Don't we have the right of free speech and free assembly in a park?"

"Maybe so," the police officer answered, "but we don't make the laws, we only enforce them."

The minister informed the Memphis World that the policeman walked away but shortly returned with two other policemen and inquired, "Are you still here?" The officers explained that they were under orders from Commissioner Joe Boyle to invite Negroes from the park during the rally. When the ministers said that they were willing to submit to arrest rather than leave the park while the rally was going on, the policemen left and did not return.

Police officers, the previous Tuesday reportedly ordered several Negros out of Court Square during the Browning Kefauver Rally. Voicing protest against the first incident was Lonnie Jones, employee at Firestone who said that the policeman in ordering him and other Negroes out of the park declared that there was nothing for us to hear and marched us right out.

This incident was reported by Mr. Jones to Gene Williams an official of Firestone Local No. 186 United Rubber Workers "CIO."

Mr. Williams in a statement to the press added: "They are registered voters and have a right to listen to the candidates speak, especially out in the open like that," said Mr. Williams. "It sounds like the States' Righters to me."

Jones said that he and four or five other Firestone workers on the night shift were standing on the edge of the crowd, along the sidewalk of Main, Court and second. He said two uniformed policemen came along "shaking clubs at us" and saving "get on away— you don't need to hear ony of this."

Rev. Alcorn said that he attempted to get a statement from Republican candidates regarding the incident involving him and the other two ministers, but that neither Mr. Reece or Mr. Acuff were available for a statement. Rev. Brown is President of the AME Minsiters Alliance and a member of a family which has given this community a number of educators and other community leaders. Rev. Alcorn is a longtime resident of Memphis— whose late father was well known in Shelby County as a minister and educator. Alcorn himself taught for several years before entering the ministry which later took him as Presiding Elder to Oklahoma and Kansas. Rev. Walker, although a recent comer to Memphis has made himself felt as a community man.

ROGERS SAYS:

I'VE FOLLOWED closely the three major candidates and though favoring Wallace at first I've decided Dewey is the fittest man. That this newspaper supports him has nothing whatever to do with my conclusion. In fact, as it looks now, I'm only sharing what it seems will be the verdict of most voters.

I've three principal reasons for choosing Dewey. First, America's victory in the last war has not only proved a tremendous liability but a national danger. For this, so far as I can see, the Roosevelt administration first, and the Truman one next, are to blame. I don't know whether Dewey will be able to correct this colossal mess, but if he brings to the Nation the same splendid efficiency he has to New York there is hope. One thing is clear: there is no hope of Truman's doing it; in fact, there is only prospect of worse should he win.

• • •

SECOND, I LIKED Dewey's campaign with its poise, high plane, lack of uncertain promises, and appeals to national unity. Dewey is cool-headed, quick thinking, very intelligent and statesman like. That's what I get from a study of his career both as District Attorney of New York City and as Governor. In a tight corner, he's the kind of man I would choose as leader.

Third, his record on the Negro is excellent. The Courier said last week that "on matters pertaining to the Negro" he is better than any man "who has sought the Presidency since the administration of Lincoln." I'd go further and say than Lincoln, also. Dewey, I have very good reason to believe, is personally free of color prejudice. As District Attorney he gave recognition to Negroes. In his gang-busting campaign one of his chief assistants was Atty. Eunice H. Carter. As Governor he has done even more. Last week's Republican advertisement in The Courier carried the pictures of twenty-seven Negroes now under him in good jobs. That is true.

DURING HIS governorship civil rights for Negroes have made such gains that as one who has known New York since 1906 I can hardly believe it's the same old town. Thanks to his FEPC (for which Democrats must also be given credit) I see Negroes working in places I never expected they would be in my lifetime. New York City is immensely different from Washington, D. C., which Mr. Truman heads.

Of course, under the Truman administration Negroes have won much in the courts—its Department of Justice under Tom Clark and J. Edgar Hoover has done more than any preceding one— but in other Federal affairs it has been very ineffective, due to the fact, I believe, that Truman's chief support is the anti-Negro Democratic South, the same power to which Wilson and Roosevelt had to bow. Therefore, as with foreign policy, I think that Dewey with his far finer record of deeds will go further in giving Federal recognition to Negroes than Truman, provided he gets a better type of Southern Democrats and Southern-Negro-and-white exploiting Northern Republicans than Truman had to work with.

I firmly believe that Truman, who gave us largely words, would have given deeds had he been able. And if he gets in there is no prospect of a change, the South will have the same strong voice where Negroes are concerned.

INJUSTICES TO Negroes is becoming a greater monstrosity than ever in the eyes of the world. It is Russia's biggest asset in winning converts against America and proving that her democracy is a cruel mockery. Here is this Nation facing the greatest danger to her existence and Dixiecrats and their moronic following, instead of working to save America and themselves, are placing their crazy, exploded notions about "race" above everything else. America needs at this moment a leader sane, skillful, temperamentally fitted to save her from this insanity about color and I feel that if anyone can do so Dewey is the most likely.

As I said, I like Truman and wish there were two presidencies so he could have one. But since there isn't I choose in my own interests, as well as of those of the Negro and the Nation — Dewey.

Mr. Rogers

CHICAGOAN CHOSEN AS DEWEY ASSISTANT

WASHINGTON (ANP)--Valores J. Washington, 45, of Chicago, was chosen last week as assistant campaign manager for the Dewey-Warren campaign for president and vice-president.

The Chicago political leader is the former business manager of the Chicago

Defender. Since March, 1946, he has served as director of Negro activities for the Republican National committee. He has also served on campaign committees for Gov. Dwight Green of Illinois, and as member of the Illinois Commerce commission.

By LEM GRAVES Jr.
(Courier's Washington Correspondent)

WASHINGTON—After adding an additional 4,000 miles to his Presidential campaign mileage chart—which now totals about 13,000—Governor Thomas E. Dewey can safely say that he added some votes to his personal ballot column.

A review of reactions during his nine-State Midwestern trip indicate that the New York Governor made substantial personal gains. A State-by-State analysis of the Dewey Presidential candidacy and the local Senatorial races follows:

PENNSYLVANIA

In Democratically controlled Pittsburgh, Dewey made one of his best campaign speeches to an enthusiastic crowd of more than thirteen thousand inside Hunt Armory and another ten thousand who jammed the streets outside. His plea for labor peace and productivity, social welfare legislation and civil rights made a hit with this tremendous audience in the heart of the organized labor area of Pennsylvania's coal and steel industry. Many independent voters, from unions committed by national officials to the Democratic standard, will no doubt vote the GOP ticket as a result of Dewey's forthright statement favoring the Taft-Hartley Law and his able explanation of its advantages to labor.

ST. PAUL, Minn.—If the Republicans achieve victory in the State of Minnesota, a Negro will cast an electoral college ballot for Presidential candidate, Thomas E. Dewey. He is S. E. Hall of St. Paul.

KENTUCKY

Here in this border State which could conceivably go either way in the election, Dewey was the beneficiary instead of the benefactor of the State Senatorial candidate. Popular Senator John S. Cooper, one of the GOP liberal bloc in the Senate, is extremely popular all through the State and Dewey appearances in this commonwealth in Cooper's company will probably mean more votes for the GOP national ticket. In this close State, the Negro vote may be decisive and this vote, concentrated in Louisville, is predominantly Republican.

ILLINOIS

Dewey, supported by the State GOP organization in the capital at Springfield and in Chicago, is likely to win but, in Southern Illinois, the GOP Senatorial candidate, Senator C. Wayland Brooks, was not very [illegible] Dewey is hoping for an [illegible] in Southern Illinois and [illegible]

OKLAHOMA

This State is definitely Democratic except for a strong island of Republicanism in Tulsa. Dewey made little headway for himself in the State as a whole and was coolly received in metropolitan Oklahoma City which is strongly Democratic. The Negro vote is traditionally Republican but went into the Democratic columns with Roosevelt. It is returning slowly but will not come into the GOP fold in time to help the 1948 ticket.

MISSOURI

Truman's home State was cordial to the GOP candidate. Despite some strong GOP sentiments, and an enthusiastic audience who heard Dewey's speech on better government in Kansas City, cannot be counted safe for Dewey. This State will be close with home-State pride in President Truman likely to be a decisive factor. Negroes vote here in large numbers and a brief sample indicated a trend toward the GOP particularly in Kansas City.

MINNESOTA

Governor Dewey and the GOP party are both strong in this State, but Senator Joe Ball, the GOP Senatorial candidate, is not safe. Democratic Mayor Hubert Humphries of Minneapolis is making a fight here and Dewey's trip had doubtful value as far as Ball's candidacy is concerned. The Negro, practically non-existent except for a few in the metropolitan Twin Cities, is a negligible voting factor. Dewey looks like a safe bet, but Ball will have trouble.

Mrs. Bertha Diggs, secretary, New York State Department of Labor, and a Dewey appointee, was one of the speakers on a panel which featured the meeting of the National Federation of Women's Republican Clubs in St. Paul, last week.

INDIANA

Only one stop made here. Dewey is strong in this State and no Senate race is involved.

MICHIGAN

In strongly Republican Michigan, Dewey simply loafed at his mother's home over Sunday. No political appearances were made but Michigan is considered safe.

NEW YORK

Dewey's stops in New York were largely "courtesy" stops. The New York Governor is personally popular in up-State New York and will carry the State by a considerable margin. Whatever votes he will lose will be lost largely in Democratic New York City, but even here he is likely to pile up a sizeable plurality. The Negro vote in New York outside of Harlem is Republican and even in Harlem, there are signs of increasing transition to the GOP banner.

The net result of the tour is some increase in strength for Dewey which may indirectly aid local Senatorial candidates where voters refuse to split the ticket. However, present indications point to difficulty for several GOP candidates for Senate seats.

Negro Director Named To Aid Dewey Campaign

Washington, July 31 (AP)—Val J. Washington, Chicago, will serve as assistant campaign manager for the Republican Dewey-Warren ticket, it was announced today. He is director of Negro activities for the Republican National Committee.

Dewey Promises Square Deal for All Americans

By DOUGLASS HALL
(Special to the AFRO)

NEW CASTLE, Pa.—Before a large crowd in the spacious Hunt Armory, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, Republican nominee for President, promised, "Your next administration will restore respect for the law by insisting that every American gets fair and equal treatment."

In a fighting mood, the former New York gangbuster shouted: "We will press forward in solving the problems of race relations and discrimination in the great American tradition of freedom and equality and thus deepen the unity of our people."

For the first time since his campaign opened several weeks ago, the Governor took a firm stand upon the much-discussed, much kicked-around issues of civil rights.

Urges "Better Living for All"

Throughout his speech, he pleaded for "better living for all people" and called for the advancement of "the principles of a free society."

"While strengthening our civil liberties under the Bill of Rights," he declared, "we shall faithfully and vigorously expose Communists and their activities to the full light of day."

With many popular polls indicating that he is losing both the labor and the colored vote, there is little doubt that his speeches on this tour are written so as to put him in good standing with these two powerful reservoirs of votes.

His schedule calls for areas where there are large concentrations of colored persons and laborers—key cities in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Illinois, Oklahoma, Missouri, Minnesota, Indiana, Michigan, and ending Monday with a rally at Buffalo, N.Y.

For Higher Minimum Wage

Declaring that "we are all free men and women enjoying the inalienable rights under the guarantees of the Constitution of the U.S.," Dewey listed the following as some of the things that "we are determined to achieve":

"We will provide firm supports under wages just as we will provide firm support under commodity prices for the farmer. The present minimum wage set by law is far too low and will be raised.

"We will overhaul the Social Security System for the unemployed and the aged and go forward to extend its coverage and increase its benefits.

"We will make the Labor Department equal in actual cabinet status to Commerce and Agriculture, encourage unions to grow in responsibility, and strengthen the processes of collective bargaining.

Against Special Interests

"We will bring to an end special interests legislation and special interests administration. We will vigorously and consistently enforce and strengthen our anti-trust laws against business monopolies.

"We will break the log jam in housing so that decent houses may be provided at reasonable cost—make sure soaring prices do not steal food and clothing and other necessities from American families."

Many Greeters Present

Among the large group of colored citizens who stood in the rain to hear Governor Dewey speak here was an impressive-looking couple who identified themselves as the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Fred T. Harper.

Republican Committeemen Charles H. Brown and Fred T. Grassman boarded the train to greet Governor Dewey.

NEGRO CLUBS BACK DEWEY

Midwest Council of Republicans Makes Stassen 2d Choice

DES MOINES, Jan. 24 (AP)—Fred D. Hawkins of Des Moines, chairman of the Midwest Council of Negro Republican Clubs, announced today that the organization's present sentiment favored Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York for the Presidential nomination with Harold Stassen of Minnesota as second choice and Gov. Dwight Green of Illinois as running mate to either of the men.

Mr. Hawkins said also in an oral press statement that the group "sees no need for Negroes to support Henry Wallace's third-party movement."

He said the group would meet in Chicago, April 3. Mr. Dewey, Mr. Stassen and Mr. Green, along with Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, have been invited to address the meeting.

Mr. Hawkins said Justice Francis E. Rivers of New York City had been appointed national counselor and Val J. Washington, Illinois Commerce Commissioner, national political director.

States represented in the council are Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Michigan, Indiana and Kansas.

Dewey Raps Administration; Civil Rights Stew Simmering

WASHINGTON, March 4.—(AP)—Gov. Thomas E. Dewey denounced the Truman administration Thursday as a foolish spendthrift threatening to bring on "ruinous inflation."

The New Yorker flung his charges from Albany in a message of thanks to Wisconsin friends who are backing him for the Republican presidential nomination.

Another politician who wants a new president, Rep. A. L. Miller (R), Nebraska, kept the drums rolling for Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

"I am certain he will accept the (Republican) nomination if it is tendered to him at Philadelphia," Miller said in a speech to the U. S. House.

Meanwhile, the Southern civil rights quarrel with President Truman simmered on within the Democratic Party. Also, Pennsylvania supporters of Henry A. Wallace's third party bid arranged a meeting at York, on Sunday. Wallace will speak.

Dewey's blasts at the Truman administration were as sharp as those he sounded against Franklin D. Roosevelt when he ran against the late president in 1944.

"Our national government is torn by bitterness and quarreling," the governor said in his message. "Its profilgate waste of the money it has wrung from our people by taxes threatens to bring us to ruinous inflation.

To Restore Integrity

"Our task as Republicans is to restore integrity, competence and purpose to the national government."

General MacArthur hasn't said he would run for the presidency and Miller, in his House speech, said the Far Eastern commander "does not desire to be an active candidate."

Nonetheless, Banker Warren Wright of Chicago headed for Washington to open national headquarters for the Douglas MacArthur campaign committee.

The suggestion by Major James M. Curley of Boston that the Democrats themselves run MacArthur and ditch Mr. Truman was deplored by State Democratic Chairman John F. Cahill as "a stab in the back of the man who freed him from prison." Curley seved five months on a mail fraud conviction: his sentence was cut by presidential action.

Meanwhile, Sen. Stennis, (D) Mississippi, said that the current cry for new civil rights laws is "a political fraud," aimed shamelessly at the Negro vote.

In his first Senate speech, Stennis also said that the agitation is part of a plan "to gradually liquidate and totally blot out the great American principle of self-government."

Back To People

"Instead of afflicting the people with more bureaus and a greatly extended police power," Stennis argued, Congress should start "putting the government back where it belongs—back in the county court houses, back in the hands of the people."

Stennis' speech dealt with President Truman's proposals for anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and fair employment practices legislation. He said leaders of both parties have decreed that "for political reasons these bills must pass."

Two other Dixie senators denounced a proposed federal employment practices code (FEPC) as "laden with the ingredients of strife and unrest."

Senators Ellender (D), Louisiana, and Hill (D), Alabama, expressed their views to the Senate in a minority report of the committee on labor and public welfare.

Ellender and Hill argued that the measure would aid and abet Communism, and restrict development of private enterprise.

They contended further that the bill was unworkable, unconstitutional and unjustified.

Presidential (Dewey)

FRIGHTFUL IMPOSITION'

Dewey Against Extra Session for 'Rights

BY JACK TARVER

Constitution Associate Editor

PHILADELPHIA, June 25—Republican Presidential Nominee Tom Dewey said today he opposed the calling of a special session of Congress before the election for the purpose of enacting a civil rights program.

He made the statement at an afternoon press conference in answer to a question from Edgar G. Brown, Director of the National Negro Council, Brown asked if Dewey had any plans to confer with Republican Congressional leaders with a view to calling a special session "to enact the civil rights promises made in the 1944 platform."

Said Dewey:

"It would be a frightful imposition on Congressmen who under our system, are having to stand for re-election, to ask them to go back to Washington in the midst of a campaign Summer.

Brown was in Philadelphia to present a petition signed with over a million names demanding a strong civil rights program in the 1948 platform. He indicated disapproval of the plank adopted. "The '48 platform is not as strong as the '44 one," he sad in a television interview while waiting for Dewey's arrival. "It doesn't specifically advocate the FEPC. "Four million Negro votes are looking to the Republicans to call a special session before November," he said. "Otherwise the promises in the platform won't mean any more than those in the 1944 one."

"We hope Gov. Dewey will carry on the splendid work he has begun in New York," Brown added. "If not we'll just have to wait and see if the Democrats have anything better to offer."

Asked if he thought the Republican civil rights platform any better than the Truman recommendations to Congress on the subject, Dewey said, "the platform as I read it, is entirely agreeable to me." Those close to Dewey say he will probably campaign vigorously on promises of implementing civil rights legislation. New York was the first state in the Union to adopt an FEPC.

As the Polls Go, So Goes Dewey

Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, of New York, candidate for the Republican nomination for President and patron saint of the vicious FEPC, comes out for a "hard-boiled" foreign policy. He advocates, among other things, rebuilding our air force and intelligence system and accelerating our diplomatic efforts, whatever that may mean.

It seems to us that Gov. Dewey, as usual, is rather late with his pronouncements. But in that he is only following his normal policy of waiting until public sentiment has jelled before announcing his views on important issues.

There are in public life today a great number of political opportunists. But the New York Governor is the uncontested champion of them all.

Dewey's Record

Editor Constitution: This is an appeal to those Georgians who intend to vote for Dewey:

We would do well to examine the pattern of government in New York State where Dewey is Governor.

First, there is the FEPC, which aids an undesirable minority (NOT Negroes) to worm its way into business houses which heretofore had excluded them.

The Sullivan Act, dealing with possession of firearms, is such an incomprehensible conglomeration of incoherent red tape that hoodlums are armed to the teeth, whereas a citizen shoots an armed burglar and is prosecuted.

Ever hear of Claire Boothe Luce shrieked the "Bill of Rights?" (In her book on etiquette, Mrs. Luce states "the most important of all social graces is the art of lying!") One of the Bourbons of the Bilbo ilk!"

Furthermore, students attending the private parochial schools of one certain faith are permitted to ride the streetcars and busses FREE!

Is this Americanism?

Don't forget how Claire Boothe Luce shrieked that the South is controlled by "lynch-loving Bourbons of the Bilbo ilk!" (In her book on etiquette, Mrs. Luce states "the most important of all social graces is the art of lying!") One of the most powerful voices behind the Republican throne is that of Klaire's Kocktail Klan. (Speaking of cocktails, remember

Think it over, fellow Georgians! Will you vote for THIS?

FRANK M. EMBRY.

Atlanta.

Mr. Dewey Looks South

The 1948 Presidential campaign will go down in political history on various grounds of distinction, and it is just barely possible that this year will mark a substantial and lasting crack in the old one-party order of the South. There was 1928, of course, when even Texas went Republican, but the events of twenty years ago constituted a special case. Perhaps 1948 is also a peculiar year, one in which Mr. Truman may be substantially and unwittingly achieving a major piece of Southern progress. Mr. Truman's civil rights program, the explosive force of which he certainly failed to foresee, is possibly the very catalyst needed to start the ball rolling. The course might be utterly different from whatever Mr. Truman envisaged in the beginning, or the aims set by the infuriated Southern die-hards, but then the future, even at the next corner's turn, is hard to chart. New York Herald

In its great economic development the South is changing faster than it knows. Perhaps the awakening South, acutely conscious of impotent acquiescence under Northern orders in the Democratic party, is ripe for the great jolt. The two-party system would appear as essential and inevitable as the decline of the one-crop system, the advance of the Negro or the delayed industrial revolution in Dixie. Whether it comes gradually, or jumps up overnight, is anybody's guess. Thu. 7-8-48

We hardly suppose that Governor Dewey is hopeful of quick results for the Republican party, but it is interesting that he plans to make a campaign speech in North Carolina. The Republican nominee sees ahead. Evidences in the particularly fertile ground of North Carolina, where the party polled a third of the vote in 1944, have been steadily accumulating. Anything might happen in the Democratic party—this year.

Dewey Set To Invade Solid South

Advertiser Montgomery Ala. Dem 9-5-48

His Campaign Manager Says Dixie Thousands Ready For Two Parties

Office Is Set Up

He And Truman Make Bids For Labor Vote; Food Fight Continues

By The Associated Press

Gov. Thomas E. Dewey will make a determined bid for support from the once "Solid South" in the November presidential election, Republican national headquarters announced Saturday.

Herbert Brownell, Jr., campaign manager for the Dewey-Warren ticket, said in a statement: Dem 9-5-48

"Thousands of Southern voters are ready to vote for Dewey and Warren and for the establishment of a real two-party system in the South."

Brownell said many Southerners "want to see their section of the United States become doubtful territory instead of adhering blindly to one party which has given striking evidence on many occasions that it does not hold the South in much respect."

To aid in rallying the Dixie vote, Brownell announced that a "Southern Information office" has been set up at GOP headquarters in Washington, headed by Bryan Collier, former editor of the Columbus, Ga., Ledger and former associate editor of the Louisville Ky., Courier-Journal.

To Give Evidence

Brownell said the Republican Party will "give the South plenty of evidence of its interest" in Southern problems and will send at least one top-flight speaker into every Southern state.

Meanwhile Mr. Truman and Gov. Dewey began to step up the tempo of their pre-campaign activities, prior to setting out on extensive stumping tours.

Writing in the American Federationist, official monthly publication of the American Federation of Labor, the two major party candidates bid for the labor vote.

Said Mr. Truman: "The Republicans are asking workers to forget the gains made under a program of broad social and labor legislation that was started in 1933 by the Democratic Party when Republican unemployment, hunger, despair and bankruptcy stalked the land." Advertiser

Raps Fellow Travelers

Said Gov. Dewey: "In the last six years the state of New York has had no place in its government for 'party-liners' or fellow-travelers. And your next administration in Washington will not make them any more welcome. Nor will that administration play into the hands of such elements by so far forgetting the rights of all our citizens as to propose that strikes be broken by drafting men into the Army."

Mr. Truman will open his official campaign Monday with six Labor Day Speeches in Michigan and Ohio. Montgomery Ala

The President is expected to wade into the quickening fight over high prices—and labor matters, when he speaks in Detroit's Cadillac Square Monday noon (11:30 p.m., Montgomery time).

Mr. Truman leaves Washington today. Besides the Detroit speec today. Besides the Detroit speech, he will make four others in Michigan the same day and wind up the brief foray into the Midwest with a rear platform talk at Toledo, Ohio, Monday night. Montgomery Ala

Dewey's aides indicates that the GOP candidate will probably make an eastern campaign tour in October, including a visit to Massachusetts about Oct. 15 or 20, after a swing through the Midwest to the Pacific Coast. Gov. Dewey is spending the Labor Day week end at his farm home at Pawling, N. Y. Sep 9-5-48

No Comment

Dewey said he had "no comment" on the bitter fight over government farm-support prices touched off by Harold E. Stassen and swiftly taken up by Secretary of Agriculture Brannan.

Stassen first said that the secretary was trying to keep food prices from going down. He also said that the government should stop "abusing" the food purchasing program.

Brannan replied that the Republicans are launching a "sinister attack" on farmers by trying to blame the government's food price supports.

Rep. Kersten (R), Wisconsin, charged into the fray Saturday with a letter to Secretary Brannan contending that the administration is "recommending crop reduction" in the face of shortages caused by foreign aid and heavy home consumption.

"This policy," he said, "can only help to further increase the price that the long-suffering housewife will have to pay for her meat and bread in 1949."

Collier, said Brownell, "is one of the many thousands of Southerners" who want to see the South quit "adhering blindly to one party which has given striking evidence on many occasions that it does not hold the South in much respect."

"For its part, the Republican Party will give the South plenty of evidence of its interest during the current campaign, by scheduling at least one top-flight speaker in every Southern state.

"Thousands of Southern voters are ready to vote for Dewey . . . and a real two-party system in the South.

The GOP chieftain said Collier would give Southerners information on how to split their ballots to vote Republican, on the advantages of a two-party system, and the qualifications of Dewey and Governor Warren, the GOF vice presidential candidate.

Dewey Blasts Bigotry

The Pittsburgh Courier

Must Work Against Intolerance, N. Y. Governor Warns

By LEM GRAVES Jr.
(Courier Washington Correspondent)

DES MOINES, Iowa—"We must work against intolerance and bigotry, against racial and religious discrimination."

In a speech which launched his formal campaign for the Presidency of the United States and in which he set forth the fundamental principles on which he would base his candidacy, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey made this assertion and forthrightly proclaimed his interest in protecting the rights to freedom of all Americans, as he spoke before a huge crowd in Drake Stadium here Monday night.

Governor Dewey's opening speech, which sounded as much like a challenge to orthodox, old guard Republicanism as the Democratic candidacy of President Truman, listed the problems which he proposes to face and solve if elected President. Included in this list was the problem of the denial of fundamental rights to racial minorities. He declared:

"Millions of Americans face the intolerable fact that because of their race or their color or the way they choose to worship God, they are denied rights which are their birthright and which, by American principle and law, are their just due."

This Des Moines speech, explained Governor Dewey to the thousands of people who heard him in person and the millions of Americans who heard him over the nation-wide CBS and MBS hookups, outlined the general issues which he would attack in specific speeches. He promised more detailed treatment of the issues as he progressed in the campaign.

AMERICAN IDEAL

Faith in the American ideal, he declared, was his inspiration in his campaign for freedom, for peace and for justice and while, he said, "it will not be easy" to meet the problems he outlined, he added "it is part of my faith in America to believe that with restoration of faith in ourselves, of competence in our Government, of unity of purpose among us, there is nothing as a people we cannot do."

Other issues which Governor Dewey promised to tackle, if elected President, are peace, high prices, housing, social security and unemployment. Sat 9-25-48

OTHER PLEDGES

Specific pledges he made included adherence to the principle that every act meet the test of value to the country, an administration made up of men and women devoted to that principle and capable of translating that devotion into constructive action, a foreign policy based on the firm belief that we can have peace, a Government of team work, an administration which knows how to work with the elected representatives in Congress, the "biggest unravelling, unsnarling, untangling operation" in our Nation's history in Washington next Jan. 20, and "an administration which knows in its mind and believes in its heart every American is dependent upon every other American, that no segment of our people can prosper without the prosperity of all, that in truth we must all go forward together."

HOUSEWIFE WOES

In a reference to the needs of the people, Governor Dewey said: "The housewife who has been out shopping today to buy meat for her family and clothes for her children has been up against the hard fact of high prices. Every married veteran living in a quonset hut or doubled up with his family is up against the cruel fact that we do not have enough good homes for our people. Every family living in a crowded, unsanitary, cold-water tenement has the same urgent needs. Hard-working, frugal Americans find they do not make enough to lay anything by for a rainy day or sickness or unemployment or old age."

The New York Governor attacked the tyranny which is "on the march" in the world today and the fear of war and destruction which is opposing the people of the world. But, said Governor Dewey, "We welcome the challenge of tomorow."

34a(1) 1948 Presidential (DeweY)

Observer Sees Dewey Waging Dual Campaign

By LEM GRAVES Jr.
(Courier Washington Correspondent)

ABOARD DEWEY VICTORY SPECIAL—The first few hours of this transcontinental tour with Governor Thomas E. Dewey have convinced this reporter that the New York Governor is conducting two simultaneous campaigns: The first, for control of the United States Government as President; and second, for the control of the Republican party.

The first one shapes up as being easier for Mr. Dewey than the second one. But the second campaign is the important one for the people of this country. For without the control of the party, dominated in the past two years by such as the likes of Taber, Martin, Halleck, Taft, Hartley, Allen, and the other old guard reactionaries of the Eightieth Congress, Dewey's pledges to meet the real genuine needs of the little people will be nullified.

FIRST MAJOR SPEECH

That Tom Dewey intends to take on the GOP conservatives in this campaign was indicated in his first major speech delivered in Des Moines, Monday night. Here is a typical statement:

"The housewife who has been out shopping today to buy meat for her family and clothes for her children, has been up against the hard fact of high prices. Every married veteran living in a quonset hut or doubled up with his family, is up against the cruel fact that we do not have enough good homes for our people.

"Every family living in a crowded, unsanitary, cold-water tenement has the same urgent needs. Hard-working, frugal Americans find they do not make enough to lay anything by for a rainy day or sickness or unemployment or old-age."

SENSES BATTLE AHEAD

Mr. Dewey is no uninformed, naive politician. He knows that the Republicanism that ran rampant throughout the Eightieth Congress contributed considerably to those evils and, at least, declined to take constructive steps to correct them.

He knows that in speaking these lines, he is stepping on the toes of Congressional Republicans, and he knows that Mr. Truman and the Democrats will try to turn these sentences into pro-Democratic propaganda.

But Dewey has some protection. He has no connection with the doings of the GOP Eightieth Congress. If, while winning the control of the Government, he can also succeed in winning, beyond question, authority over and control of the party, he may be able to achieve some gains in the interest of the people.

TOSSES CHALLENGE

Any Democratic hope that Dewey would pre-empt the "civil rights" field to Truman was dispelled when he made his first speech in Des Moines, Monday. There had been some fear, among Negro Republicans, that Mr. Dewey would try to stand silently on his record and not challenge the Democrats in this area. Well, he threw down the gauntlet right off the bat and promises more to come.

In this, he is again taking on the GOP Eightieth Congress which conspired, notoriously, with Dixiecrat Southerners to sabotage Mr. Truman's civil rights legislation.

So confident were the Southern Democrats that this unholy alliance with Republicans would continue to allow them to control the national legislature, that they were inspired to bolt their party and fight against their party chief, Mr. Truman.

In his first speech, Mr. Dewey has shown that, if he can get the power within his party, the Dixiecrats will find no haven in this pew.

PEOPLE CAN HELP

The GOP nominee can win his first campaign, that for the Presidency. Whether or not he has what it takes to win the second—and more important campaign—remains to be seen.

The people, in whose interest he proposes to act, can help by carefully examining the Congressional candidates offered in their States and Districts and picking carefully, without too much regard for partisan labels, men who are dedicated to humanitarian principles of government.

Less than an hour after the Dewey Special left Albany, the Governor took off from his private car in the rear for a visit with the boys of the press.

Upon introduction to your correspondent, he immediately recognized the name of The Pittsburgh Courier and said that he had talked a few days before with the paper's president, Mrs. Robert L. Vann.

DISCUSSES FARM

He paused to discuss his farm with Julius Adams of the New York Amsterdam News; Douglas Hall of the Afro-American, and yours truly. None of us knew anything about farming but the Governor did and seemed to enjoy talking about it.

Mr. Dewey also said he enjoyed campaigning. We'll be interested to know if he still does after 9,000 miles and fifteen days of this grind.

THE HORIZON

Columnist Says He'll Vote for Dewey . . . And Lists 3 Reasons

By P. L. PRATTIS

I LIKE TO call my political shots as I see them. In fact, I insist upon that. Sometimes, I am so bewildered by what goes on in political campaigns that I remain puzzled even when I enter the election booth. At such times I vote according to my best judgment. I might not be able to defend that judgment. But my action is as honest as I can make it.

Mr. Prattis

I have given the current campaign, the candidates, the issues, much thought over a long period of time. I have been able to come to a decision as between the four major candidates for the Presidency: Truman, Dewey, Wallace and Thurmond. I wrote last week that I am going to vote for Governor Dewey and I promised that I would tell why—why such a vote makes sense to me. I'll list the reasons:

1. The Democratic party lacks what might be called "control" leadership. Mr. Truman, I believe, is a man of slightly above average competence. I believe him to be earnest, sincere and determined. I think he has some feeling for the ordinary person. But he is not a man of major stature. He can't control his party from the inside or the outside. He has not shown the ability to attract to him a team of men, men of brains and stature, through whom he might win control of his party. One of the reasons is because he has invited nonentities to help him. A more important reason is because there are at present no really outstanding men on the leadership level in the Democratic party. There are no men in the Democratic party to compare with Dewey, Warren, Stassen, Taft, Vandenburg. In other words, most of the big men in positions of leadership (admitting some to be reactionaries) are in the Republican party today.

2. No matter how earnest, sincere and honest Mr. Truman is about the Democratic platform and the socially advanced proposals he believes in, he would not be able to get anywhere with a program if he were elected. The chances are (even if a miracle should happen and Mr. Truman were elected) that the Senate and House will be Republican. As a matter of plain, practical political policy, the Republicans are not going to go along with a Truman (Democratic) program, no matter how good it is. The Republicans have been out too long. They want to get in. Callous though it may be, or appear, they are not going to support any program initiated by the Democrats or Democratic leadership which will help to keep the Democrats in power. They would sabotage such programs in the Eighty-first Congress as they have done in the Eightieth. Furthermore, the Republicans would enjoy the help and support of the reactionary Southern Democrats. If elected, Mr. Truman could only depend upon the so-called progressive wing of his party for support. The Republicans and the Democrats from Dixie would be against him.

It does not matter significantly how much Mr. Truman believes in more housing, lower prices, health legislation, Federal aid to education, reclamation, civil rights and such things. He can believe in all of them as much as the Lord himself might, but as long as he is Harry Truman and a Democrat he could stay in the White House for twenty years without getting positive action in regard to any of them. That's in the cards, as they say.

3. This is the time to put into the position of power a party that can be held accountable. If Dewey is elected the Republicans will have the White House, the Congress and four years to prove what they are and can do. They can, if they wish, enact housing legislation. Mr. Truman can't and couldn't. The Republicans can, if they wish, extend social security. Mr. Truman couldn't. The Republicans will have the votes to put civil rights statutes on the books. Mr. Truman couldn't. Mr. Truman couldn't because the Republicans opposed him and a segment of his own party opposed him. Mr. Dewey will start, at least, with greater unity.

It should be remembered also that the Republican party is active in those States where the franchise is not restricted. If the Republicans fail to come through in the next four years, they can be got at in election booths by all classes of voters. Millions of citizens, white and black, in the South, cannot reach their misbehaving Senators and Representatives in Washington.

FOR THE FOREGOING reasons, I am going to vote for Dewey. If Wallace had not permitted the Commies to engulf him, I might have voted for him to help create a balance-of-power party. But he has thrown away his chance. The Dixiecrat candidate is out of the question, lacking integrity among other things. I like Mr. Truman personally and some of those around him, but I can't vote for him. I am going to vote for Dewey, the man who has shown that he is an administrator, who has shown that he can get things done and the man who will start off with a party that can do things for the American people if it so wishes. If Dewey and the Republicans fail me, and the American people, in the ensuing four years, I'll be hurt no more than I have been by the past four. I and millions of others in the vote-free States will have a chance to vote and send him and his gang back to New York.

Washington Notebook

The Pittsburgh Courier

ABOARD DEWEY CAMPAIGN SPECIAL—New York's Governor Thomas E. Dewey set forth from Albany, N. Y. Sunday afternoon on a 9,000-mile journey during which he proposes to tell the people of the Nation that the efficient perfectionism which allegedly marks the government of New York State can be transferred to the government of this Nation by the election of Mr. Dewey as President.

Pittsburgh Pa.

It seems reasonable to assume that Mr. Dewey will also tell the people that the justice and equality of opportunity for minorities which is stretched out in the statute books of this State in various laws and which is underscored by a number of high level appointments of Negroes and other minorities can be likewise to the Nation as a whole by the same expedient of voting for Mr. Dewey.

Up to the time this trip started, Mr. Dewey had said nothing about these matters—of justice and equality—no doubt because he figures that everybody knows all about his record on civil rights. This basic assumption is faulty, according to my investigation. There seem to be quite a number of Negroes in this country who do not know very much about Mr. Dewey's record in this this field. And there is a very large body of voters who don't believe it although they have heard some vague reports on the subject. It is safe to say that this disbelief is receiving considerable encouragement from Democratic sources. It all boils down to the fact that Mr. Dewey, in his cross-country trip, can scarcely afford the luxury of silence on the civil rights issue.

Mr. Dewey's opposition is quite articulate in this respect. The Truman "civil rights" position is very widely known all over the land while Mr. Dewey's solid achievements in the area are recognized in few sections outside of New York State and the immediate eastern vicinity. And New York is not all of the U. S. as this 9,000 mile odyssey will no doubt conclusively prove to one and all.

So the voters will want to know what verbal commitments Mr. Dewey has to make in this respect. Such campaign "promises" are a traditional part of this election business and, though history has proven that the promises have very little to do with what is finally done by politicians, it is still a required part of the process. Your correspondent will report to you on what Mr. Dewey has to say on this subject and how he is received by those of all races who hear him.

* * *

POLITICAL NOTES: In the covering of politics, this writer is constantly amazed at the almost subterranean level on which political propaganda is pitched. Paid political campaigners apparently believe that not only are all potential voters numbskulls, but that all reporters are knuckle heads. During the past week I was thrown into contact with campaign workers on both sides of this political battle. Since I would be presumed to be fairly literate and to have some slight intelligence, it would appear that arguments presented on behalf of the political candidates for the office of President of the United States, no less, would be pitched on some level which would excite the interest of one who is concerned about many of the important problems and issues of the times. But the propaganda which was employed by these party campaign employes left no doubt that they had little regard for my intelligence.

Sat-9-25-48

The Republicans told me that Harry Truman's mother was a Negrophobe, unconstructed rebel. The Democrats told me that a Negro couldn't get a haircut in Tom Dewey's birthplace. Mr. Truman had no choice in the matter of a mother and Mr. Dewey had no choice in a matter of a place of nativity. It would seem to me that the least that can be said for both Mr. Dewey and Mr. Truman is that, on the record, they have both improved somewhat on these early beginnings.

These political hacks may differ on how much these men have improved but an argument which is aimed at influencing my political thinking with respect to Presidential candidates must be better than that.

Incidentally, these propagandists are well known to me. In fact, under normal conditions they would all agree that most of the things they are now saying are ridiculously one-sided and biased. They know that their own candidates are not incarnate saints and they also know that the opposing candidates are not unmitigated sinners. But for some amazing reason, political campaigners seem impelled to say rather silly things about their candidate and about the opposition.

Sat-9-25-48

IT MAY BE HARMLESS, but I seem to sense a danger, particularly for Negro campaigners, who pitch every argument at the racial level, and at a low racial level at that. Negroes must learn to understand that in addition to being black, they are also citizens of America and that they can never be more than America is. I think that, occasionally, Negroes ought to be told something about the many other things that are urgent issues of our day and time.

Campaign propaganda can be improved in many ways.

Washington Notebook . . .

The Courier 34a(i)

Sat 11-?-48

By LEM GRAVES JR.

(Courier's Washington Correspondent)

Pittsburgh Pa.

Dewey Proposes to Convert Dixie Bigots

ABOARD DEWEY VICTORY SPECIAL—The evidence is mounting that Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, in his campaign for the Presidency, is running more on his own record as a competent administrator and as a man with strong social convictions than he is on the Republican party label.

Mr. Graves

For Governor Dewey neither thinks nor acts like many of his GOP brethren in many basic aspects.

This was underscored last week when Senator Robert A. Taft, regarded by most people as the most typical spokesman for Republican party policies in this country, went fishing in Dixiecrat waters of Florida for support of the party's ticket. He did not try to convert the irrational and prejudiced Dixiecrats to a liberal standard of social thinking but told them, of all things, that the Republican party's principles were far more in accord with the ideas of the Southern Democrats than were those of President Truman.

Contrast this open suggestion by Taft that Southerners would find the Republican party more to their liking than Truman's Democratic party with the few references made to Dixiecrats by Governor Dewey on his current tour.

In urging unity while traveling in border States like Kentucky and Oklahoma, Dewey has said: **"If we have any Dixiecrats in the audience. I am happy they are here. Maybe we can convert them, too."**

Dewey proposes to convert Southern bigots to his enlightened position while Taft shows his true colors by telling the Southerners that their way of thinking is closely akin to the thinking of the kind of Republican party Senator Taft represents.

Sat 10-23-48

DEWEY AND TAFT are not ideological brethren even if they are currently operating under the same party label. Dewey has never, on this trip, bid for Southerners with any implied promises that their biased views would be welcomed in his party. He has deliberately excluded Southern States from his itinerary. Taft, obviously because he represents the spirit of collaboration with Southerners which has featured the Congress in recent years, is making the party's bid in the South.

There will be few people who would object to the establishment of a two-party system in the South if it did not involve, as Taft implied, acapitulation of the Republical party to the narrow, illiberal prejudices of the South. Those who have called for such a two-party system have hoped that the Republicans would attract the finest elements of liberalism instead of the segments Taft is inviting into the party.

* * *

IN HIS OTHER remarks in Florida, Taft indicated that he and his Southern "friends" will want to carry U. S. Government further back than Governor Dewey has indicated he plans to go. All of which suggests that even after he wins the Presidency, Dewey will have to fight to control his wayward party.

Further evidence of that fact is supplied by a list of such characters as Missouri's Dewey Short, congressional candidate who will, if elected, head the key House Armed Services Committee, and who is opposed to everything that Dewey stands for in foreign policy and military preparedness; Minnesota's Senator Joe Ball, Oklahoma's Ross Rizley, New York's John Taber, Illinois Leo Allen and Les Arends, Massachusett's Joe Martin, Indiana's Charles Halleck, and others who must be promoted by Dewey in line with the niceties of party regularity and the fear that he may otherwise lose GOP control of the Congress.

If he is able to win control for the party, Dewey hopes he will then be able to win these vital leaders to his advanced way of thinking.

* * *

INCIDENTALLY, some of the campaign literature and speeches of Negroes who have decided to support Dewey instead of Truman seems in especially bad taste. To make out a good case for support of Dewey, it is not necessary to say that Truman has done nothing but talk. That is patently untrue. He may not have done as much as he might have and he may be inspired in what he has done by political motives—(and who isn't in this civil rights business)—but it seems that it is unnecessary to make the Truman record any darker than it is.

that fatuous reasoning is dangerous and distasteful.

One piece pointed out that Truman didn't issue any executive orders which is, of course, not true. The danger of such one-sided thinking and writing and speaking is that we are likely to get this civil rights business all out of proportions and develop a feeling that Dewey, or some other candidate, will get immediate and complete satisfaction. We will get, at best, a slow moving development which derives, not so much from ideas as from capacity for leadership.

* * *

THE VOTER should, it seems to this corner, make a determination on the basis of general administrative competence in every field of our welfare. To make a case here requires no distortion of the contributions, however immature, of others. The road of denunciation of Truman does require some distortions. Dewey seems to me to be a better bet at this stage of our lives as Americans for many reasons. In making that decision, I [illegible] And I think indulgence in

Rankin File

How FEPC Works In New York State

By Allen Rankin

Daily In The Alabama Jour

THOMAS DEWEY is the heir apparent to the U. S. Presidency.

Like it or not, it looks like he'll be the doctor. If so, he'll be chief surgeon in charge of operations on the South's "civil rights" case.

As Governor of New York he has been something of a State's rights man, presumably advocating leaving such things as anti-discrimination measures up to each State. On the other hand, under his leadership New York has developed the only set of anti-discrimination laws with real teeth in them. Finally, no matter what his personal views, if Congress passes a national Fair Employment Practices Act this summer, it will press the knife and directions as to how to use it, firmly into his hand.

So the question before the South today is: "How vigorously would Dewey choose to use the knife? How ardently would he choose to press home his FEPC powers?"

No one but the man with the spaced teeth and the little mustache knows that—and probably not even he. The closest thing to an answer is another question:

"How vigorously has New York, under Gov. Dewey's leadership, pressed home enforcement of its own toothy anti-discrimination powers?"

Not very vigorously, it would seem.

New York has full power to whale violators of its "Fair Practice Law" with axe-like swings. Yet, it has never unsheathed its legal axe. At opponents it yet has failed to thrust even a legal lancet.

Too Hot To Handle?

Before New York's SCAD (State Commission Against Discrimination) 1,043 cases of alleged violations were brought in two years of operation. All these cases were settled in the "conference, conciliation and persuasion" stages.

Not one was brought to a hearing.

Not one has ever been brought to a hearing.

This argues well on the side of the Commission's level-headedness and tolerance. But it also argues another point.

Is it possible that 1,043 individual violators of this act all agreed to be good boys and comply with the Commission's recommendations? Is it possible that all 1,043 were so yielding and mild that no hearing before the commission, no penalties, no appeals to the courts were necessary?

We don't think so. We think that even in New York State (with only from 3 to 6 per cent Negroes in its cities) the matter of penalizing violators of FEPC laws has turned out to be too hot to handle. . . . At least too hot for successful politicians like Mr. Dewey to handle.

Hot Potato, Warm Spud

We have no record of what takes place between Commissioners and violators in their closed sessions. Because the law says "the members of the Commission and its staff shall not disclose what has transpired in the course of such endeavors." (That is the papers won't get in on it and make headlines out of it.)

From the standpoint of protecting employers charged with discrimination this is a sensible precaution. It is also quite sensible from the standpoint of office-holding politicians like Mr. Dewey.

It would seem clear that what is a hot potato in the South is at least a very warm spud in the North.

So we ask ourselves: Would a man like Dewey, so careful to please northern pressure groups by supporting state FEPC laws, yet obviously so careful not to ruffle northern opponents by handling them with anything but the gentlest kid gloves—

Would such a man be over-anxious to set off dynamite in the South by rigid enforcement of FEPC Laws? Could he smilingly blow up in his own face the chance to establish a strong Republin Party south of the Mason-Dixon Line?

Trying For Forty Years

We believe that since New York put enforcement teeth behind its discrimination laws in 1945, it has also discovered the political unwisdom of using these teeth.

We believe there are reasons why SCAD's policy is almost strictly "educational" and "policy setting."

We list here a series of anti-discrimination laws which "progressive" New York has been putting through for 40 years—but which it still has no apparent desire to enforce rigidly.

1909—Passed law forbidding discrimination because of race, color or creed in:

- Jury service
- Right to practice law
- Admission to public schools
- Places of public accommodation

1913—Forbade discrimination in insurance rates and provisions.

1918—Forbade discrimination in places of public employment, hotels and inns, common carriers, amusement spots, teaching and cemetery associations.

1932—Forbade inquiry concerning the religion or religious affiliation of persons seeking employment or official positions in public schools.

1938—New Yorkers voted into their new constitution equal protection of laws regardless of race, color or creed; prohibited discrimination in constitutional rights.

Some Strong Dental Work

Still, all this was theoretical rather than effective. To make it effective it all had to be summed up and voted in by Legislative enactment in 1945.

And still, the law needed teeth. It was provided a set that could, if ever used be very sharp. There was created in the Executive Department SCAD, a commission of five.

This Commission conciliates when possible (it has been quite possible so far). If violators brought before it fail to be conciliatory, however, they must come before three commissioners for a hearing. These can fine them up to $500 and give them up to one year in prison, or both.

But for enforcement of its orders (there have been none so far) SCAD must apply to the courts. Judicial review of its orders may be obtained by any "person aggrieved" thereby.

This is the first state law to declare opportunity for employment to the civil right; to declare the abrogation of this right illegal and to provide an agency for enforcement.

A New York Ku Klux Klan?

Most Southerners have the idea that the entire North is quietly unanimous for such legislation. This certainly was not the case in New York. The proposed law and Dewey's stand for it raised a storm.

Writes the Yale Law Journal:

"The opponents of the Bill, chiefly employer groups, argued both that it could not be effective and that it would be too effective. The latter argument was stressed the more heavily; it was charged, for example, that the law 'dictates to any employer in private enterprise whom he shall employ,' that it would drive business from that state and that it was totalitarian and communist.

"In the Assembly debate, the leader of the opposition threatened that reprisals on minority groups would be the result, specifying pogroms and the Klan."

In short, New York opponents of "Dewey's FEPC Law" were as wild as Dixiecrat opponents of "Truman's FEPC Law" were in Birmingham.

by voluntary action and by sound governmental leadership in initiating and encouraging voluntary action."

. . . A speech to make the most radical "reformers" happy.

. . . A speech to take the sting out for employer reaction-

. . . A pat political speech by a pat politician.

Negroes In High State Setup

ALBANY, N. Y.—(ANP)—One of the Republican party's Presidential hopefuls, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York, has appointed Negroes to a number of important positions in the state government since he took office in 1942.

In April of this year the governor signed a bill which outlawed discrimination in higher education, a bill which will give every qualified student an equal chance to enter the college of his choice.

In

It Pleased Them All

Dewey backed the Bill with meatless verbosity. "I cannot too strongly emphasize either the importance or the necessity for considered action on the recommendation of that commission," he said. "The need for action in this field of human relations is imperative.

"We all know that the problems in this field may not be solved by means of statutory enactments alone. All our people must be imbued with the urgency and the will and the understanding to bring cooperation and equality into the relations among our fellow human beings. To do this, education both of child and adult is required. The right atmosphere in the home, the school and the church is important. Much can be accomplished to accelerate the process of education and understanding

1945 the anti-discrimination Gov. Dewey has approved of numerous passed, and a commission housing projects in Harlem

and other parts of New York City and the state under the New York State Housing division. In these state projects there is no discrimination toward applicants.

Under the governor many Negroes have received good civil service positions according to merit rather than race. He recently signed a law to give women equal pay in the state setup when they do the same work as men.

With a motto that a person should be rated on his ability and not his race the governor has a good record for appointing Negroes to responsible positions. Before he became governor when he was district attorney he appointed Mrs. Eunice H. Carter, James Yeargin and Francis E. Rivers as assistant district attorneys.

Later, as governor, he appointed Rivers was subsequently elected to a full 10 year term as the first colored judge in the city's history.

He named Dr. Clilan B. Jowell, newspaper publisher, to the state athletic commission, and Frank Forbes as a judge attached to the boxing commission.

OTHER APPOINTEES

Mrs. Bertha J. Diggs is secretary to the state department of labor at $7,700 a year, and St. Clair T. Bourne works in public relations for the department for $7,500. Others in the department include Noah C. A. Walter, a member of the board of appeals handling workmen's compensation cases, $9,800; Richard L. Baltimore Sr., referee on the workmen's compensation board, $7,300, and Conrad A. Johnson, state unemployment insurance appeals board $9,300.

In the establishment of the State Commission Against discrimination the governor appointed Dr. George E. Haynes to the commission that prepared a report for a state univ., and the abolition of discrimination in higher education.

Elmer A. Carter is a member of the five-man commission at $12,300 a year. Among the field representatives of the commission are Henry E. Craft, former executive secretary of the Harlem YMCA, and Lillian Sharpe Hunter, at $6,280.

One of the eight members of the commission of correction is Grant Reynolds. Mrs. Ruth Logan Roberts is a member of the state board of social welfare which this year has an appropriation of $169,000,000. A member of the board of visitors at the New York State Training School for Boys is Mrs. Matthew V. Boutte.

Assistant attorneys general included Stanley Douglas at $7,700, Lamar Perkins, at $7,500 and Philip Watson at $7,00. Among the counselor in the state decision of veterans' affairs at $5,920 are Robert A Macon, Eugene Faulkner, Eugene I. Warner and Arnold P. Johnson.

Among the members of Gov. Dewey's office staff is Frank Simpson. He has an office and staff of workers of his own, and entrusted with much of the governor's confidential work.

That 'Civil Rights' Question Finds Dewey Deftly Dodging

Full Of Fine Phrases, GOP Pronouncement Says Little Specific; Walter White Seems Bemused

By GROVER C. HALL, JR.
Editor, The Advertiser

PHILADELPHIA—The standard bearer of the Republican party this afternoon parried the "civil rights" question.

Gov. Dewey, in his first press conference since his nomination, was asked if he would seek a special session of Congress this year "to implement the 1944 Republican 'civil rights' plank."

(In the congressional adjournment arrangement, Congress can be reconvened at the call of the leadership).

"I certainly will not," Dewey quickly answered.

Whereupon the Republican nominee explained that it would be unfair to convene Congress because every member of the House is engaged in a reelection campaign. He did not avail himself of the opportunity to say whether he regretted the handicaps of a session now to get along with civil disturbance legisation. It may be assumed that Dewey will handle that question gingerly until he establishes the possibilities of Republican successes in the South.

Generally, the Southerner attending the Republican convention would be confused over the precise state of mind of the Republican party with respect to "civil rights."

The "civil rights" plank bristles with intent reform, but is is conspicuous by its failure to mention specifically FEPC legislation —as it did in 1944.

It is not, however, easy to construe this as a move to mark time until the Southern invasion possibilities are established. For convention honor posts were loaded with colored Republicans, a circumstance that could not be expected to facilitate Southern seduction by the Republican party.

For example, Perry Howard a Negro who has been a Republican leader in Mississippi for a score of years, had the run of the speaker's platform throughout the convention. And in that he took precedence over senators and the GOP fat cats who are relied on to contribute millions of high tariff dollars to the campaign. Numerous others were delegates and sergeants at arms.

Walter White and other Negro leaders appear bemused over the course they should take. They have expressed disappointment over the modified Republican "civil rights" plan, but they are not sure they have anywhere to go. They are, indeed, homeless like us Democrats.

GOV. EARL WARREN

Dewey's conference was staged on the rose room roof of the Bellevue-Stratford, a singularly appropriate place. Dewey enters a crowded room behind a wedge of secretaries. He was so well concealed by them this afternoon that although his sleeve must have touched my shoulder in passing, I didn't see him until he took his place in front of the klieg lights. But for that matter, he looked the same as before, talked the same as before-and probably always will.

DEWEY STATES 'RUMP' SESSION NOT GOP TEST

Wherry Says Endless Southern Filibuster in Senate Possible

WASHINGTON, July 20.—(INS)—Republican Presidential Nominee Thomas E. Dewey served notice through his campaign manager today that the GOP's 1948 platform cannot be carried out at a "rump" special session of Congress.

The statement was regarded as Dewey's answer to President Truman, who challenged the Republicans to fulfill their pledges at the special session which the President has called for next week.

Herbert Brownell, the Dewey campaign manager, declared at a news conference that the "Republican platform calls for enactment of a program by a Republican Congress under the leadership of a Republican President."

SEE NO BONDS——

Reporters drew the inference that neither Dewey nor Brownell expect Republican leaders in the special session to be bound by the party's 1948 platform commitments—including the bitter issue of civil rights.

Brownell's statement added:

"Obviously the Republican program cannot be accomplished at a rump session, called at a political convention, for political purposes in the heat of a political campaign."

Meanwhile, a Senate snarl over civil rights bills which could not be broken by a "gag" on debate threatened to block action on all important legislation when Congress reconvenes Monday.

Senator Wherry (Republican), Nebraska, acting majority leader, pointed out that the parliamentary situation would permit an endless filibuster by Southern Senators.

They could oppose approval of the Journal for the last day of the session which adjourned June 20.

TO PUSH PROGRAM—

Presidential Secretary Charles G. Ross announced that the President would push his civil rights program "to the utmost" at the special session.

Republican leaders prepared to map strategy for the session in a round of conferences Monday.

House and Senate GOP chiefs will meet at 10:30 a. m. Wherry said Senator Taft, chairman of the Senate policy committee, has called a meeting of this group for 3 p. m.

Race Staff Man One of Dewey's Best

(From Courier Correspondent)

ABOARD DEWEY VICTORY SPECIAL — There are no soft touches among the jobs on the Dewey "team" judging by the way Gov. Thomas Dewey's "bright young men" have to hustle for the "boss." Government workers in Washington, especially those who have one of those easy "pie-train" jobs, had better get in the habit of working —and working hard.

Every man and woman on the Governor's staff on this cross-country trip put in a full day of hard work. They didn't have time for anything else. And that goes for the top-level advisers who may be cabinet appointees.

ONE NEGRO STAFF MAN

One of the hardest working members of the Dewey crew is Frank Simpson, who mimeographs all the hundreds of pounds of instructions, schedules and speeches which load down this train. Simpson, the only Negro on the Governor's official staff—there are three Negroes working in the Governor's private car as porter, waiter and chef—also does numerous other jobs for Governor Dewey. He travelled with Dewey in 1944.

The people who heard Governor Dewey may not know it but those who have covered the Washington scene certainly do know that more than 90 per cent of the people on the Federal pay roll in Washington and elsewhere are protected by civil service status and, lest the voters be misled, it is only fair to warn that the Civil Service Commission's rights to protect Federal workers is one of the most zealously guarded rights in this Nation. A civil service job holder is the most secure job holder in America and Congress indicated in past years of abortive payroll purges, that the civil service list will remain more or less sacrosanct.

The only jobs which Dewey will find it easy to eliminate on his Washington [illegible] are the few top-level positions reserved for patronage and, after sixteen years of patronage starvation, the people behind Dewey's candidacy are not likely to yield to any wholesale pruning of these jobs. There are too many Republicans around waiting for Government appointments.